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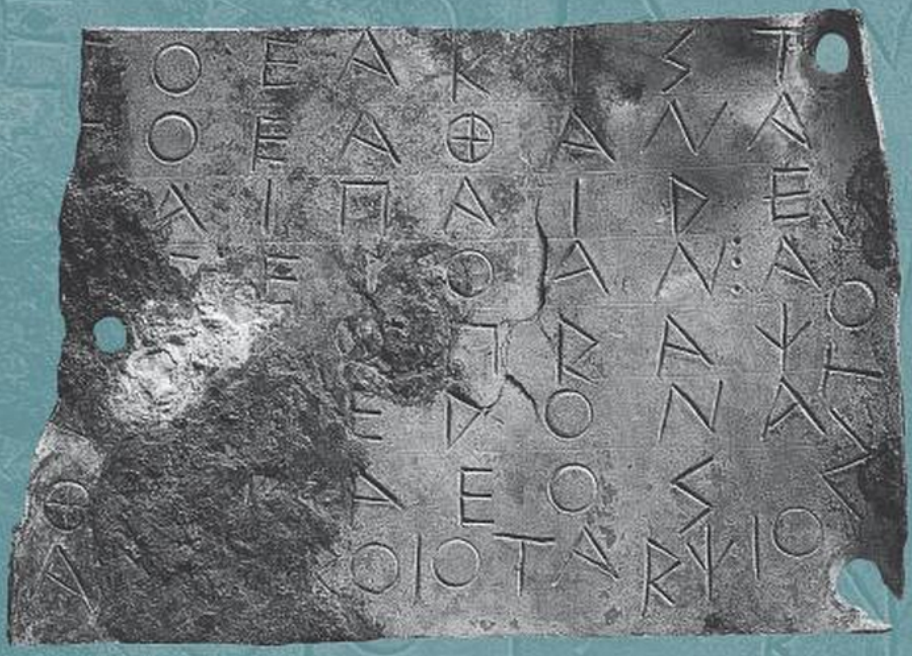
The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia

New Finds, New Prospects

Edited by Nikolaos Papazarkadas



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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

In memoriam Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr. (*1937–2012*)

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Preface

The foundations of this volume lie in a symposium that was held at Berkeley in September 2011. The symposium *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia: New Finds, New Developments* was organized by the Sara B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy in collaboration with the Collège de France, for whose institutional help I should thank Denis Knoepfler, Chair of Greek Epigraphy and History. Generous financial assistance was given by the France-Berkeley Fund and by the Townsend Center for Humanities. I received valuable clerical and organizational help from the administrators of the Classics Department, especially Gary Spears, Sarah Calderon, and Nancy Lichtenstein. I would also like to thank the Berkeley graduate students Eric Driscoll, Lisa Eberle, John Lanier, Derin MacLeod, Randy Souza, and Michael Zellermann-Rohrer, who helped first with the organization of the symposium and later with the editing process of the volume, as did Mitchell Park, graduate student at Brown. I am extremely grateful to Connie and Ron Stroud, who generously offered their house as the main venue for the symposium's opening reception: that convivial evening has already entered local epigraphic lore. Todd Hickey, Director of the Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, showed our visitors the other great sub-field of ancient documentary studies. He, Carlos Noreña, Andy Stewart, and all my other colleagues in Classics, History, and Art History were very supportive and gracious hosts throughout the symposium.

Much of the work on this book was carried out in Spring 2013 when I held a visiting fellowship at the Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies at Princeton University. I would like to express my gratitude to the Director of the Center Dimitri Gondicas and the other members of the Executive Committee for their warm hospitality.

During the production of this volume I was helped by three consecutive Classics editors at Brill, Irene van Rossum, Caroline van Erp, Tessel Jonquière, and, in particular, by Gera van Bedaf, the main production editor of the book. The comments and criticism of the anonymous reader improved considerably the final product. I am grateful to John Bodel and Adele Scafuro for endorsing this book for publication in the dynamic new *Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy* series, of which they are the senior editors. Adele has been for years a dear friend and her assistance far surpassed what is normally expected from a senior editor.

A volume on epigraphy presupposes much work with inscriptions on the ground. Institutional support has been abundantly offered by the Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy for several years. My work in the

Archaeological Museum of Thebes has been considerably facilitated by the ex-director Vasileios Aravantinos, as well as the current Director Alexandra Charami and her archaeological and clerical staff, in particular Yannis Fappas.

My greatest debt goes to a man who had no obvious connection with Boeotia, as far as I know. Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr., the main excavator of Sardis for almost five decades, was my next-door neighbor at the Department of Classics at Berkeley. Widely known as one of the most courteous classical archaeologists of his generation, "Greenie", we now know following his untimely death, was supportive of many a younger colleague. Herein I join the long host of his beneficiaries. When I asked him whether he would like to chair one of the sessions of the symposium he duly assented; then he went on to cover at his own expense one of the symposium's receptions at the Berkeley Faculty Club. This type of benefaction was very typical of Greenie. A couple of days after the end of the symposium, I received one of Greenie's legendary handwritten cards, in which I was congratulated, somewhat undeservedly, on the success of the symposium. Rather than being mere formalities, such gestures emanated from Greenie's disposition toward encouragement of the younger scholars. Greenie is very much missed by his colleagues, students, and friends: this volume is dedicated to his memory.

Nikolaos Papazarkadas
Berkeley, October 2013

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used are the standard ones, as can be found in *OCD*[3], *L'année philologique*, and in the *SEG* consolidated index for volumes XXXVI–XLV, pp. 677–688. For the reader's convenience I also offer the following list:

AD	*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
AEph	*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερὶς* (Athens, 1837–)
BE	*Bulletin épigraphique* (Paris, 1938–)
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1825–1877)
F.Delphes	*Fouilles de Delphes*
I.Délos	F. Durrbach, *Inscriptions de Délos* (Paris, 1926–1937)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae* (Berlin, 1873–)
LGPN I	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (edd.) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume I. The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1987)
LGPN II	M.J. Osborne, S.G. Byrne (edd.) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume II. Attica* (Oxford, 1994)
LGPN III.A	P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews (edd.) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume III.A. Peloponnese, Western Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia* (Oxford, 1997)
LGPN III.B	P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews (edd.) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume III.B. Central Greece: from the Megarid to Thessaly* (Oxford, 2000)
LGPN IV	P.M. Fraser – E. Matthews (edd.) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. IV. *Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea* (Oxford, 2005)
LSJ	H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th edn. (Oxford, 1996)
LSSG	F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (Paris, 1969)
OMS	L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta. Epigraphie et antiquités grecques* I–VII (Amsterdam, 1969–1990)
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertums-wissenschaft*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden, 1923–)
Syll.[3]	W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edn. (Leipzig, 1915–1924).

List of Contributors

Vasileios L. Aravantinos
worked in Boeotia for 30 years (1981–2011), first as Curator and subsequently as Director of the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. He is currently directing an excavation at Thebes under the auspices of the Athens Archaeological Society and the 9th E.P.C.A. His research focuses on Mycenaean art, society and epigraphy, as well as on the history and archaeology of Boeotia. His main discoveries include the archive of Linear B tablets of the Theban Mycenaean palace and the sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes. He has published *Thèbes. Fouilles de la Cadmée*, I–IV (2001–2006, in collaboration), *The Archaeological Museum of Thebes* (Athens 2010), and numerous articles.

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Angelos P. Matthaiou
is the Secretary General of the Greek Epigraphic Society (EEE) and editor-in-chief of the journal *HOROS*. He has published numerous studies on the epigraphy and history of Athens, the Aegean islands, and mainland Greece, including, more recently, *The Athenian Empire on Stone Revisited* (EEE 2010) and *Τὰ ἐν τῆι στήληι γεγραμμένα*: *Six Greek Historical Inscriptions of the Fifth Century B.C.* (EEE 2011). He is one of the main editors of the new Attic corpus *IG* II^3 and of the forthcoming corpus of Chian inscriptions *IG* XII 6.3.

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Introduction

Nikolaos Papazarkadas

Boeotia has always been a kind of historical enigma. Lacking the vast cultural credentials of Athens and the military reputation of Sparta, Boeotia is nevertheless a region that did at times hold first place in Greek affairs: Pindar on the cultural front and Pelopidas along with Epaminondas in the more mundane field of high politics have each secured at least some passing, if not more extensive, references to Boeotia in most books on ancient Greece. At the same time, Boeotia has suffered from some negative, and damaging, publicity—one thinks of the proverbial 'Boeotian swine'—that has somehow undermined its due fame.

This volume attempts to offset Boeotia's unfair deficit by investigating its history primarily through its epigraphical output. The noun 'epigraphy' has been given first position not in order to make any indirect claim for its intrinsic value—epigraphy, after all, is a servant of history—but in order to highlight the methodological and thematic focus of this volume. Numismatics, sculptural, ceramic and iconographic studies, architectural projects, land surveys, and geophysical analysis, to name but a few methodological approaches, have often highlighted new aspects of Boeotian history. It is however epigraphy that, more often than not, has been able to shake historical certainties in a decisive, occasionally dazzling way, and this book will, it is hoped, promote Boeotian studies in a similarly spectacular fashion.

Like other regions of mainland Greece, Boeotia became epigraphically visible around the time epigraphy started emerging as an autonomous scholarly field in the early 19th century. The newly founded Kingdom of Greece incorporated Boeotia from its early stages, paving the way for a fairly smooth investigation of the area. Not surprisingly, the first two epigraphists of the Greek state, Kyriakos Pittakys and Ludwig Ross, found the time to visit Boeotia, though Attica remained their primary focus. Ross shared his epigraphical crop with August Boeckh, who at the time was editing the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.[1] Pittakys published a total of 192 Boeotian inscriptions in the first series of the *Ephemeris*.[2] Likewise, his fellow epigraphist Alexandre Rangabé included several Boeotian documents in his important two-volume epigraphical collection *Antiquités helléniques*. The advancing prosperity of the Greek

1 Ross 1835, p. II.

2 Kalliontzis (forthcoming).

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state and its main archaeological institutions continued to benefit Boeotia.[3] Several Boeotian inscriptions were published by Stephanos A. Koumanoudes in *Athenaion* and elsewhere. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, V. Leonardos, director of the Epigraphical Museum, meticulously studied and published dozens of inscriptions from Oropos, that quasi-Boeotian region of Central Greece, thus paving the way for the magisterial corpus of Oropian inscriptions that was produced in 1997 by the General Secretary of the Archaeological Society of Athens, Vassileios Petrakos.

However, the real 19th-century pioneer of Boeotian epigraphy, at least as concerns his epigraphical work, is without any doubt Lolling. It was primarily thanks to him that Dittenberger was able to produce his monumental *Inscriptiones Graecae* vol. VII, as evinced by the numerous inscriptions whose publication is accompanied by that laconic "Lolling exscripsit".[4]

Dittenberger's work was also made easier by two important collections of Boeotian inscriptions that had been published by Karl Keil in 1863 and Wilhelm Larfled respectively.[5] Yet, the *Inscriptiones Graecae* was not exclusively a Germanic enterprise. I have mentioned the substantial role early Greek archaeologists played in the advancement of Boeotian epigraphy. It is now time to move to another foreign school whose work had, and still has, a great bearing on Boeotian studies, the *École Française d'Athènes*. Already in the first volume of *EFA*'s periodical *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, we find an article by Paul Girard with the forthright title "Inscriptions de Béotie". Numerous members of the school produced articles in the epigraphical field. Here I should single out Paul-François Foucart, Paul Jamot, and in particular the leading French epigraphist of the late 19th/early 20th century, Maurice Holleaux, whose work appeared not only in *BCH* but also in *REG*. Much of this early French work focused unsurprisingly around the excavations of the shrine of Ptoon (Holleaux) and of Thespiai (Jamot).[6]

Moving ahead to the 20th century, members of the Greek Archaeological Service continued the good work of their predecessors. Boeotia was fortunate enough to enjoy the ministrations of some of the Service's most knowledgeable members at that time. The century was ushered in by Antonios Keramopoul-

3 In the resuscitated *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς* in 1862, Rhoussopoulos makes explicit reference to the 100 inscriptions that he had been able to find and save in Megaris, Phocis, and Boeotia, specifically in Thespiai and Orchomenos: Rhoussopoulos 1862.

4 For Lolling's contribution to the *Inscriptiones Graecae* project, with extensive treatment of his involvement in *IG* VII, see Hallof 2007.

5 Keil 1863; Larfeld 1883.

6 Jamot 1895.

los, the first real Ephor of Boeotia. His monograph *Θηβαϊκά*, which appeared as volume no. 3 of *Archaiologikon Deltion* (*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*), the main periodical of the Greek Ministry of Culture, was a remarkable accomplishment at the time because of its combined use of archaeological, literary and epigraphical material for the topographical investigation of Thebes.[7] In 1931/2 the same journal hosted Keramopoullos' *editio princeps* of several Thespian inscriptions. He had hastened to produce the article in question in order to facilitate the work of the Berlin Academy which was apparently preparing a *new* edition of *IG* VII (!).[8] Not to be overlooked is his publication of more than 220 Boeotian inscriptions in the *Archaiologike Ephemeris* of 1934/5 and 1936.[9]

Keramopoullos' successor was Nikolaos Pappadakis, yet another of the finest archaeologists-cum-epigraphists Greece produced in the pre-war period.[10] Pappadakis discovered and published in a most meticulous way some rather extraordinary epigraphical monuments. Consider, for instance, his massive 1923 article "From Boeotia."[11] At least two of the essays in this volume are heavily indebted to Pappadakis. Much of Claire Grenet's source material was published by Pappadakis in 1916 in the second volume of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.[12] Likewise, Yannis Kalliontzis' essay is based on an inscription discovered by Pappadakis in the distant 1924.

In the post-war period, Markellos Mitsos, director of the Epigraphical Museum, continued the unfinished work of Leonardos on Oropian inscriptions.[13] It was Ioannes Threpsiades, however, who worked the most tirelessly on Boeotian archaeology and epigraphy during the occupation of Greece by the Axis powers and in the first 15 years or so after the end of the Second World War. With dozens of photos of epigraphic squeezes, Threpsiades' posthumous account of the new display of antiquities in the Museum of Thebes vividly shows his sensitivity for epigraphic exhibits.[14]

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7 Keramopoullos 1917.

8 Keramopoullos 1931–1932: "Nevertheless, since I learned in Berlin, last summer, that a second edition of volume VII of Inscriptiones Graecae is being prepared and I was asked to expedite the edition [of these Thespian inscriptions] even without a thorough study, I have undertaken this task by publishing a first edition of these texts" (p. 12).

9 Keramopoullos 1934–1935, 1936.

10 Even the otherwise restrained Louis Robert famously referred to him as "l' excellent N. Pappadakis": *BÉ* (1978), no. 221.

11 Pappadakis 1923.

12 Pappadakis 1916, a bonanza of manumission records.

13 Mitsos 1952, 1953–1954.

14 Threpsiades 1963. Further Boeotian epigraphical material can be found in his Nachlass: Threpsiades 1973, esp. pp. 82–83.

Of the most recent ephors, we should mention Angelike K. Andreiomenou, and, for example, her publication of the epigram and the accompanying signature of the sculptor Philourgos,[15] or the inscribed funerary stelai and graffiti from the cemetery at Tanagra.[16] Along with his interest in Mycenaean epigraphy, the ex-ephor Vasileios Aravantinos has always pursued an interest in the epigraphy of the historical period. In 2006, he published one of the most remarkable epigraphical finds from Greece of the last twenty or so years,[17] a feat that will, it is hoped, be matched by Aravantinos' contribution in the present volume. Under his directorship, the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (9th E.P.C.A.) initiated the most consequential epigraphical project of recent years, a collaborative enterprise with the Greek Epigraphic Society aimed at producing a checklist and ultimately a detailed catalogue of all the inscriptions stored in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.[18] The project is now in full swing and enjoys the active support of the current director of the 9th E.P.C.A., Alexandra Charami, herself editor of an important inscription from Tanagra.[19]

If the 9th E.P.C.A. is the *ex officio* Greek state authority promoting epigraphical studies, inter alia, the *de facto* institutional bastion of the study of Boeotian inscriptions in Greece has been the Greek Epigraphic Society (E.E.E.). In the late 1970s, its founder, Stephanos N. Koumanoudes, published his *Theban Prosopography*, a key work based on epigraphical material; this, in turn has facilitated more epigraphical research.[20] E.E.E.'s official periodical *Horos* has time and again hosted articles on inscriptions from regions covered in *IG* VII,[21] and the same already holds true for its recently launched electronic journal *Grammateion*.[22] The aforementioned collaborative project with the 9th E.P.C.A. fully involves three of its members, A.P. Matthaiou, Y. Kalliontzis and N. Papazarkadas, all of whom are contributors to this volume.

15 Andreiomenou 1999, pp. 81–127.

16 Andreiomenou 2007.

17 Aravantinos 2006, *editio princeps* of a dedication referring to the dramatic events of 506 BC related by Herodotus 5.77.

18 See Kalliontzis & Aravantinos 2012.

19 Charami 2011.

20 Koumanoudes 1979.

21 Fossey 1984; Oikonomides 1985; Kritzas 1987; Bardani 1987; Papadopoulou 1987; Filippou-Angelou 1990–1991; Avramea 1992–1998; Pologiorgi 1992–1998; Diakoumakou 1999; Syrkou 2004–2009; Vlachogianni 2004–2009; Kalliontzis 2004–2009.

22 Vasilopoulou & Matthaiou 2013a, 2013b.

Moving away from the realm of Greek institutions, some limited epigraphical material was unearthed in the British excavations of Haliartos.[23] The 1950s saw the publication of Fraser and Rönne's monograph on (primarily) Boeotian tombstones, which despite being conceptualized as an archaeological work systematized a substantial amount of epigraphical material as well.[24] M. Bonanno-Aravantinos' publication of numerous epitaphs in this volume is a continuation of Fraser and Rönne's lasting legacy.

The German excavation of the Theban Kabeirion in the late 19th century produced a few stone inscriptions and numerous vase- and bronze-graffiti. Most were first published in a hasty way in *IG* VII, but a more systematic publication appeared in 1940 in the first volume of the German Archaeological Institute's series on the excavation of the shrine.[25] Otherwise, German presence in the recent epigraphic affairs of Boeotia has been rather limited with the sole exception of Siegfried Lauffer, whose two *Chiron* articles remain fundamental reading for Boeotian epigraphists and historians.[26]

As for the inscriptions found in the early 1990s in the American investigation of Panakton on the Attic-Boeotian frontier, despite their interest they were late Classical Attic documents and not Boeotian.[27] Still on the American front, Duane Roller has produced a series of studies on Tanagra, including a collection of epigraphical sources and a Tanagran prosopography.[28] More recently, the international "Cities of Boeotia Survey" project led to some interesting epigraphical discoveries, especially in the area of Thespiai.[29]

It would not be an exaggeration to say, however, that pride of place in 20th century Boeotian epigraphy has belonged to French and Francophone scholars. Plassart, for example, had already been publishing inscriptions from the French excavations of Thespiai in the 1920s, and he continued doing so after the war.[30] With his characteristic acumen and vast knowledge, the great Louis Robert never ceased showing an interest in Boeotian inscriptions, even late in his career.[31] But the genuine French pioneer is without a doubt Michel Feyel, whose historical work was informed by profound knowledge of Boeotian

23 Austin 1926–1927; 1931–1932, esp. pp. 187–188, 192–194, 196–200.

24 Fraser & Rönne 1957.

25 Wolters 1940, esp. pp. 20–80, "IV. Inschriften", a section primarily prepared by E. Szanto.

26 Lauffer 1976, 1980.

27 Munn 1996.

28 Roller 1989a, 1989b.

29 Schachter & Marchand 2013.

30 Plassart 1926, 1946, 1958.

31 See, for example, Robert 1977.

inscriptions. I am thinking here not only of his *Contribution à l'épigraphie béotienne* but also of his *Polybe et l'histoire de Béotie*, both of which remain standard works of reference, as several of this volume's essays can attest.[32] After the war, *BCH* maintained the flow of publication of Boeotian epigraphical material with articles, not only by Plassart but also by Jaques Venencie.[33] However, Feyel's real successor was Paul Roesch. In his lifetime, he wrote several articles on new and old Boeotian inscriptions; and two of his monographs had a clear epigraphic focus. With his *Études Béotiennes*, he fixed the epigraphical agenda of Hellenistic Boeotia for future generations: historians working on the calendar, cults, judicial and federal institutions inevitably had to start with Roesch.[34] Although he did not manage to fulfill his life-long ambition of producing a new corpus of Thespian inscriptions, that work saw the light in 2007 thanks to the efforts of Gilbert Argoud, Albert Schachter, and Guy Vottéro, all of them experts in Boeotian history and linguistics.[35]

In recent years, the Gallic tradition in Boeotian studies has been kept alive and thriving by Denis Knoepfler, Chair of Greek Epigraphy and History at the Collège de France. He put his stamp on Boeotia at the beginning of his career when he published, in collaboration with Roland Étienne, a monograph on the north Boeotian city-state of Hyettos, a fascinating synthesis of archaeological, topographical, and epigraphic material, with a focus on the Hellenistic federal archons.[36] Knoepfler's 1992 conspectus of Boeotian epigraphy is still unsurpassed in its breadth and depth. His Boeotian sections in the *Bulletin Épigraphique* arguably constitute the most detailed accounts of the legendary French bulletin in the post-Robert era. His own Boeotian epigraphical work has included some extraordinary finds,[37] and this volume has benefited from having him among its host of authors.

A new generation of French, Francophone, or French-educated scholars have now taken over: Christel Müller since the 1990s, and Cédric Brélaz, Claire Grenet, Fabienne Marchand, Yannis Kalliontzis, Isabelle Pernin, and Adrian Robu in the new millennium have all been actively engaged in epigraphical work in the areas covered by *IG* VII.

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32 Feyel 1942a, 1942b.

33 Venencie 1960.

34 Roesch 1982.

35 For Argoud and Schachter see below. Vottéro's numerous articles were the groundwork for his monumental, albeit unfinished, *Le dialecte béotien* (*7e s.-2e s. av. J.-C.*) (Vottéro 1998).

36 Étienne & Knoepfler 1976.

37 For example, the list of victors from the Theban Romaia: Knoepfler 2004; *SEG* LIV 516.

From the 1970s until the late 1990s, some of the most significant work on Boeotian archaeology and epigraphy was administered through McGill University, which was, and still remains, one of the beacons of Boeotian studies. The driving forces were John M. Fossey and Albert Schachter, first editors of the wonderfully titled *Teiresias: Review and Continuing Bibliography of Boiotian Studies*. Thanks to *Teiresias*, Boeotian scholars have been relishing a tool that few, if any, regions of the Greco-Roman world can boast. First published in printed form in 1971, and in electronic form since 1987, the biannual *Teiresias*, now under the sole editorial care of Albert Schachter, has been keeping us all informed on every aspect of Boeotian literature, archaeology, history and epigraphy. I would like here to single out the *Teiresias* appendices (i.e. supplements) *Epigraphica* that were edited and published between 1976 and 1979 by Paul Roesch. Their production was timely, to say the least, since at the time *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* had suspended publication.

But Fossey and Schachter should not only be credited with the production of *Teiresias*. Schachter, for example, is the author of the monumental multi-volume *Cults of Boiotia*. His use of inscriptions for the critical reconstruction of the Boeotian pantheon was extraordinary in the 1980s and remained arguably unparalleled until the late 1990s and the publication of R. Parker and J.D. Mikalson's monographs on the religion of Athens.

Fossey himself published numerous articles that were either exclusively or primarily focused on Boeotian epigraphy, which he subsequently included in edited volumes.[38] Fossey was also the driving force behind the most important series on Boeotia of the late 2nd millennium. First appearing in 1989, the series *Boeotia Antiqua* ran for six volumes until it silently ceased publication in 1996. Individual volumes accorded variable coverage to epigraphical material. Most importantly for epigraphists and historians, *Boeotia Antiqua* IV comprised the proceedings of the 7th International Congress of Boiotian Antiquities, "Boiotian (and other) Epigraphy".

Boeotia Antiqua VI, the last volume in the series, included the proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities, which also sadly turned out to be the last such congress. Previously, epigraphists and historians had been able to enjoy in printed form the proceedings of the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Congresses, all of which included important historical and epigraphic components.[39] Concurrent with or slightly subsequent to the

38 Fossey 1990.

39 Fossey & Schachter 1979; Fossey & Giroux 1985, especially the articles by L. Migeotte and P. Roesch; Argoud & Roesch 1985; and Beister & Buckler 1989, especially the articles by L. Migeotte, F.R. Trombley, G. Argoud, and P. Krentz.

aforementioned congresses ran another series of symposia organized by the Hellenic *Society of Boeotian Studies*. Starting in 1986 and as recently as 2010, the six International Congresses of Boeotian Studies have repeatedly brought together Boeotian experts of international renown. The scope of this series has been diachronic (from antiquity to modern times) and interdisciplinary (philology, archaeology, history, art), but both epigraphy per se and ancient history more broadly have been served well over the years.

Other efforts worth mentioning include Darmezin's study of Boeotian manumissions, which together with Meyer's important recent *Tekmeria* article constitutes a point of reference for Claire Grenet's discussion in this volume.[40] Larson's perspective on early Boeotian identity contains a sizeable epigraphic component,[41] and along with Kühr's highly theoretical monograph on the same topic,[42] is the point of departure for this volume's opening chapter by Hans Beck. Beck himself, along with the late John Buckler, published in 2008 an important collection of re-edited essays entitled *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century B.C.*; the volume is more heavily tilted towards Boeotia than its title would have one believe. Similarly, Manieri's study of Boeotian poetic and musical contests is heavily based on a compendium of inscriptions of a type abundantly produced in Boeotia.[43] Last but not least, Emily Mackil's 2013 monograph on the Greek *koinon* contains an epigraphical dossier of 61 fully annotated documents issued by, or pertaining to, the Boeotian, Achaian and Aitolian *koina*, including the important decree of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts that Mackil herself first published in 2008.[44]

This summary makes no claim to comprehensiveness. I have already mentioned Knoepfler's accounts of Boeotian epigraphy published annually in the *Bulletin Épigraphique*. Of course, scholars have long enjoyed the resurrected *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, the Boeotian section of which is currently produced by Angelos Chaniotis. With the addition of *Teiresias*, one could make the justifiable claim that, despite its versatility, Boeotian scholarship, especially in the fields of history and epigraphy, remains a manageable subject.

40 Darmezin 1999; Meyer 2008.

41 Larson 2007.

42 Kühr 2006.

43 Manieri 2009.

44 Monograph: Mackil 2013; editio princeps: Mackil 2008.

The Contributions

By and large this is the landscape of scholarship and publication in which the present volume appears. Overall, work on Boeotia slightly decreased in the first decade of the new millennium, even though it never came to a halt. The present volume aims at reawakening interest in Boeotia by presenting new epigraphical finds to as wide an audience as possible—academics, field archeologists, professional epigraphists and historians, and graduate students—and by drawing attention to older documents that have either been overlooked or not properly explored. It also aims at laying out the main questions that have kept the past generation of historians of Boeotia busy and at the same time, at devising and asking fresh questions, thus setting a new research agenda.

Building on some fine recent historiographical work, the first section, "Boeotian History: New Interpretations", offers extensive insights into long established themes in the history of Boeotia and its vicinity. The arrangement is, by and large, chronological, beginning with Archaic history and finishing in the early Roman period. Focus on epigraphy is constant, either as a central feature or as a minimum evidential starting point.

The emergence of a distinctive Boeotian identity in the late Archaic and early Classical periods is investigated by Hans Beck, who collects and scrutinizes the relevant epigraphical evidence, primarily the occurrence of the collective ethnic "Boiotoi". Starting with some recent theoretical work on Theban ethnogenesis, Beck explores the integration of local communities into an overarching regional conglomeration, the articulation of group identity, and its ramifications. What at first sight appears to be a paradox, i.e. the parallel development of the Boeotian *ethnos* and of individual Boeotian *poleis*, turns out to constitute one and the same phenomenon. And all this appears to generate, and to be facilitated by, the emergence and growth of the Boeotian *koinon*.

Emily Mackil expands the chronological scope by tracing the *koinon* from the late Archaic period, when a distinct regional identity took its start, down to the Hellenistic period and the dissolution of the *koinon* by the Romans. She draws attention to the use of religious rituals for community- and state-building, and primarily to economic interaction. The integrated regional economy that arose as a result of the *koinon*, itself the product of bottom-up federalism after 446, acted as a constant incentive to the *poleis* of Boeotia to exercise self-restraint and to cooperate within the federal framework. Such considerations as these account for the longevity and relative long-term success of the *koinon* despite Thebes' frequent attempts at centralizing power, Mackil concludes.

Early in the Hellenistic period, the Boeotian *koinon* experienced a rather surprising, and short-lived, expansion towards Euboea, with the integration of at least Eretria. That much we have long known from a splendid paper by Maurice Holleaux on an Eretrian decree known only from a 15th century copy made by the Italian antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona. In a fascinating mixture of historiographical scrutiny and hard epigraphy, Denis Knoepfler is able to propose a new, lower, chronological context, by showing that this expanded Boeotian *koinon* lasted from after the year of the famous Orchomenian *homologa* inscription and down to the period of the Gallic invasion of Macedonia in the 270s.

The other surprising expansion of the Boeotian *koinon* was towards the Megarid in 224 BC. This historical contingency, paired with a modern historiographical peculiarity, namely the inclusion of Megara in the epigraphical corpus of Boeotia, encourages Adrian Robu to shift his point of view to the south of Boeotia. Looking at the epigraphical output of Megara in the 3rd century BC, and on the basis of elaborate prosopographical and paleographical arguments, Robu is able to propose a dramatic chronological reshuffling of 18 Megarian decrees. Most importantly, he shows that the King Damatrios mentioned in some of these decrees is not Demetrios Poliorketes, as usually assumed, but his homonymous grandson Demetrios II. Robu also turns his attention to the military catalogues *IG* VII 27–32; he arranges them chronologically, according to whether Megara belonged to the Achaean or the Boeotian *koinon*. All in all, the institutions and epigraphic habits of Megara turn out to have been variously influenced by those of Athens, Boeotia, and the Achaean League.

In good revisionist fashion, as initiated by Denis Knoepfler, Christel Müller scrutinizes several major documents concerning the organization of Boeotian festivals, and argues that the Boeotian *koinon*, dissolved by the Romans in 171 BC, was officially resuscitated in the late 1st century BC, with the consent of the new Roman masters. In the interim period, and despite the absence of unifying political institutions, the Boeotians had been able to preserve a sense of local identity primarily through their common participation in, and organization of, pan-Boeotian festivals.

Contributors to the second section, 'The New Epigraphy of Thebes', move to a geographically focused and methodologically circumscribed field, that of Theban epigraphy. This part of the volume consists exclusively of epigraphic evidence from recent excavations at Thebes. V. Aravantinos presents the inscribed sherds from his excavation of the shrine of Herakles, one of the most revered sanctuaries of Thebes. Dating to the 7th and 6th centuries BC, these dedicatory dipinti and graffiti have permitted the identification of the shrine as the Herakleion, a welcome reminder of the unparalleled strength of the field of epigraphy. Other epigraphical finds published by Aravantinos include two dedications to

Apollo Ismenios, whose shrine was near that of Herakles; an Argive dedication to a previously unattested hero; and a 5th century BC honorific decree, which, as it provides the earliest attestation of the office of the boeotarch, is bound to incite a new debate about the foundation of the Boeotian *koinon*.

Also of great historical significance are the four bronze tablets that are provisionally presented here by Angelos P. Matthaiou. Part of an archive, the tablets record: an amount of money deposited in an unknown shrine; an arbitration over a disputed piece of land; a series of properties sold or leased; and regulations for the organization of a common (sacred?) feast. In this preliminary report, Matthaiou provides us with numerous new toponyms and technical terms that enhance our knowledge of both Boeotian topography and dialects. His contribution should serve as a caution that we should always be prepared to reassess Boeotian history in the light of unexpected epigraphic finds.

Nikolaos Papazarkadas has selected two new epigrams, one dedicatory, the other funerary. Their monuments display the same extraordinary phenomenon, a reinscribing of the same text into two scripts, the local Boeotian script and the Ionic one. They do not lack historical interest either. The funerary epigram refers to an unidentifiable battle, either of the Persian Wars (e.g. Plataea), or of the so-called First Peloponnesian War (e.g. Tanagra). The dedication records a gift of the legendary Lydian King Croesus to Amphiaraos, thus confirming a story related by Herodotus that has long, and unduly as it happens, been doubted.

Another area that has benefited from recent excavations is the so-called 'epigraphy of death'. Margherita Bonanno-Aravantinos has already produced a detailed study of some poros funerary monuments.[45] Building on the seminal work of Fraser and Rönne, with her new contribution Bonanno-Aravantinos expands the corpus of Hellenistic funerary inscriptions from Theban cemeteries. Decorated poros beams and simple stelai, these monuments, all 43 of them, show influences from Macedon and Athens, while simultaneously providing invaluable evidence on Boeotian onomastics.

The third part of the Berkeley Symposium that gave rise to this volume (see preface) set out to explore the epigraphy and history of Boeotia beyond the Theban ἄστυ, Boeotia's undisputed historical center. The relevant papers have been brought together in the corresponding section of this volume, 'Boeotian Epigraphy: Beyond Thebes'.

By looking at Aulis, an area geographically distinct from, but politically subject to, Thebes, Albert Schachter's essay comprises the perfect link between

45 Bonanno-Aravantinos 2006.

sections two and three. In 1832, a young Classics graduate named Christopher Wordsworth recorded somewhere in the area of Aulis a sherd with the inscription ΤΛΕΠΟΛΕΜΟ ("of Tlepolemos"). Schachter takes the opportunity to dissect this seemingly inconspicuous piece of information, in which he recognizes a reference to the homonymous son of Herakles. In the process, he reconstructs a nexus of mythological and cultic traditions that emanate from the Theban hegemony and integrate the history of the foundation of Rhodes within the framework of the Theban fleet that Epaminondas tried to build in the 360s BC.

Yannis Kalliontzis publishes an important casualty list from the historical site of Plataea, and goes on to show that this early Roman Imperial monument commemorates the dead of a battle that had been fought in the Classical period, almost four centuries earlier. This gives him the opportunity to reappraise the question of war memory first in Plataea, and subsequently in Boeotia, by revisiting battle-related monuments from the entire region. Kalliontzis' essay is also a useful reminder that epigraphic gems may lie undetected in the storerooms of museums.

Robert Pitt examines the building contracts for the monumental temple of Zeus Basileus in Lebadeia; these were inscribed on a purposely built wall of stelai, one of the largest such inscribed walls from antiquity. The federal magistrates spared no expense: free and unimpeded access to detailed and reliable information for all interested parties—commissioners, contractors, builders—was considered indispensable for the protection of that enormous project. Through a strict system of guarantor appointment and constant checking of the work of the contractors, the *naopoioi* ensured that the project was less exposed to potential losses from defaulted contracts or fraudulent behavior of workmen or officials.

One of the most fascinating and perplexing epigraphical dossiers from Boeotia is that of the manumission acts. 172 manumission records attest to the liberation of numerous slaves through consecration to local divinities. Claire Grenet revisits the Chaironian dossier and proposes a new chronological framework, suggesting in the process that the dissolution of the Boeotian *koinon* in 171 BC led to considerable legal restructuring of manumission processes throughout the region. In Grenet's reconstruction, recording of Chaironian manumissions started in the first quarter of the second century BC and continued until the early first century BC. A similar chronological pattern can be observed elsewhere in Boeotia, especially in Koroneia, Lebadeia and Orchomenos.

Isabelle Pernin takes the opportunity to revisit the famous proconsular edict from Thisbe, *Syll.*³ 884. This long-lost Severan document regulated the exploitation of public lands by private individuals. By means of a detailed technical analysis, Pernin demonstrates that, unlike contemporary Roman contracts reg-

ulating the management of imperial estates, the Thisbean document aimed at the profitable administration of polis-owned lands that had remained unexploited for a long period of time, and integrated Greek contractual practices that can be traced back to the Classical period.

With Pernin's paper, this volume has run a cycle of one thousand years. From the seventh-century inscribed sherds of the Theban Herakleion to the Severan document from Thisbe, Boeotian epigraphy appears variegated and full of surprises. It spurs historians to pose new queries, to question old certainties, and it reminds them that between militaristic Sparta and democratic Athens, there was a region that tried and often managed to create a third political and cultural paradigm in the Greek world.

Following the successful conclusion of the 2011 Berkeley Symposium, the participants held a round table in which they acknowledged the need for a new corpus of Boeotian inscriptions and unanimously agreed to work together towards this aim, each one from a different position and with a different degree of involvement. This volume should then be seen as a first step in that direction. It is also a sample of what can be achieved through collective scholarly action and a reminder to the academic community that a new systematic presentation of Boeotian and Megarian inscriptions, that is, a new *IG* VII, produced under the aegis and in accord with the immaculate standards of the Berlin Academy, is a scholarly desideratum that once accomplished will prove to be manifoldly beneficial.[46]

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46 Prof. Klaus Hallof, the indefatigable director of *Inscriptiones Graecae*, once told me that in 1931, hardly a generation after the appearance of *IG* VII, the great German philologist von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf emphatically claimed to the then young Klaffenbach: "Die wichtigste Aufgabe der *Inscriptiones Graeacae* ist Böotien!".

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SECTION I

Boeotian History: New Interpretations

Ethnic Identity and Integration in Boeotia: The Evidence of the Inscriptions (6th and 5th Centuries BC)

Hans Beck

In memory of John Buckler

The ancient Boeotians were notoriously held in low regard by their fellow Greeks. Various proverbial expressions survive that reveal a disreputable, if not downright derogatory, opinion of them, culminating in the infamous designation, "Boeotian swine."[1] Much of that slander seems to have stemmed from Athenian roots; indeed, the surviving public image of Boeotia in the Classical period suggests that the negative projection was mostly a product of Athenian attempts to promote their own claims to political leadership and cultural superiority. While celebrating their valor as a citizen community and boasting of it throughout the Greek world, the Athenians tended to use their Boeotian neighbors as a negative foil: Boeotia virtually became an "anti-Athens."[2] Among the many stigmatizations nurtured by Athenian propaganda, one may be appropriately mentioned here. The saying goes that the Boeotians were like holm oaks for, in the words of Perikles, "just as these are beaten down by knocking against each other, so are the Boeotians by their civil struggle."[3] The simile is not ungrounded. The history of Boeotia is one of persistent strife, of integration and disintegration, of cooperation and falling apart, of rivalry, reconciliation, and then more rivalry. In the various phases of their history, the Boeotians engaged in some of the most enterprising ventures of political unity. Yet they also witnessed the bitter shortcomings of such projects, including the destruction of rival cities and the enslavement of entire citizen bodies.

Little is known about the Boeotian rebuttal of slander from Athens or elsewhere. It would be altogether naïve, however, to think that the Boeotians simply swallowed the negative reputation cast upon them by others. In their networks of communication, from Chaironeia to Tanagra, from Aulis to the shores of the Corinthian Gulf, and from the fringes of Lake Kopais to Mt. Kithairon, the ruling

1 Pind. *Ol.* 6.89–90. Cf. Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6.152: "There once was a time when the Boeotian *ethnos* was called swine."

2 Cf. the influential interpretation of Zeitlin 1990 and 1993 with regard to Athenian drama.

3 Arist. *Rhet.* 1407a4–6; cf. Plut. *Vit. Per.* 33.4.

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elites of Boeotia must have projected a different image of Boeotian identity. For instance, in the aftermath of the Persian Wars, faced with the onerous legacy of Medism, the leading families at Thebes set out to reappraise their history in the years around 480 BC. This reappraisal precipitated a thriving historical narrative that responded to the charge of Medism; according to it, the Boeotians were not the perpetrators who betrayed the common cause of the Hellenes, as they were branded in the Herodotean narrative. Effectively, this narrative deeply separated Theban perceptions of the Persian War period from those in virtually any other city-state outside of Boeotia.[4]

This essay is concerned not so much with how the image of Boeotian identity was construed and what it entailed, i.e., what ethnic distinctiveness the Boeotians assigned to themselves and what the core of their self-perception was; instead, it investigates the question of when the Boeotians actually began to identify themselves as an *ethnos*, with a conscious understanding of tribal cohesion and a vibrant idea of common belonging. Again, the focus here is not so much on how this ethnic self-awareness came into being (although this aspect will be touched upon in passing); rather, this essay explores the actual dynamics of the integration of local communities into an overarching regional conglomeration and considers how this group identity was articulated and what its ramifications were. As an extension of this approach, it also explores the diachronic development of Boeotian ethnicity in the Classical period and discloses its impact on the various attempts to form a Boeotian federal league, a *koinon*. This essay thus targets the relation between two categorically different, yet potentially interactive forms of societal group integration: between tribe and league, or between *ethnos* and *koinon*. It explores how both patterns of integration related to one another and what their mutual interdependence was.[5]

The contemporary orthodox view is that the regional Greek *ethne*, including the Boeotians, were not true societal relicts of a remote past. Instead, they are regarded as essentially changing, flexible and at times fairly late constructions of ethnic cohesion. This does not exclude the possibility of a realignment of the *ethne* of historical times with remnants from the distant past of the Mycenaean world, such as surviving monuments, fragments of cultural traditions, or place names. For instance, in the 6th century BC, the Mycenaean

4 On this, cf. my forthcoming monograph contribution on "The Parochial Polis".

5 This study is also inspired by the research network *Greek Federal States* which is directed by myself and Peter Funke at Münster University, the results of which are presently being prepared for publication (*Federalism in Greek Antiquity*, CUP 2015).

ruins at Thebes, Orchomenos, and Gla fuelled the lively imagination of ethnic linkage between the Boeotians of the present day and the original owners who had once built those palaces. Hero shrines, ritual performance, and legendary traditions had a similar impact on the formation and dissemination of mythical ancestry. Indeed, the legendary cycle of Theban myths (Kadmos, the Labdakidai, Herakles) and its incarnation in the urban topography and monumental architecture of the city offers one of the best examples of a realignment of a historical tribe with its remote past through a dense network of places of memory.[6]

The actual existence of late-Mycenaean tribes who, in their wanderings, gradually moved towards their new homes in central Greece has of course become doubtful. The standard position today is to dissociate the historical *ethne* from their imagined forerunners, and to date the rise of a new tribal self-awareness and formation of an aggregative identity to the Archaic period, perhaps ca. 700, if not slightly earlier.[7] In light of many regional variations, it offers little promise to postulate a template solution that works for all *ethne*. Moreover, depending on the criteria that are applied to define the collective identity of a tribe, the chronology of *ethnos*-formation shifts. Some scholars posit the criterion of putative primordial descent and the association of a tribe with an assigned territory, or homeland, which prioritizes the chronology of the rise of legendary traditions and 'historical' narratives. Others stress the force of culture, both material and immaterial, which follows along a somewhat different chronological trajectory.[8]

The complex process of ethnogenesis in Boeotia has recently been disclosed in studies by Angela Kühr in 2006, Barbara Kowalzig in 2007, and Stephanie Larson in the same year. These works show how the rise of Boeotian ethnic self-awareness was practically geared to and in turn made possible by a common set of regional cults and foundation myths that date to the late 8th century BC. The three scholars argue, independently from one another and with very different methodologies, that the ethnic integration of Boeotia was driven by vivid reflections of a shared identity. Their common point of departure is the

6 On this, cf. the magisterial account of Kühr 2006, pp. 42–46, 199–256 and *passim*. The *locus classicus* in historiography is Herodotus' brief digression on the "Kadmeian letters" which he saw in the sanctuary of Apollo Hismenios at Thebes and relates to the foundation period of the city (5.58–61). For recent archaeological finds relating to the Heraclean part of the Theban mythological nexus, see Aravantinos in this volume.

7 The classic accounts on aggregative identities in the Archaic period are Ulf 1996 and Hall 1997; cf. also Hall 2002; Siapkas 2003; Funke and Luraghi 2009.

8 Cf. Hutchinson and Smith 1996 for a summary introduction to both trains of thought.

meticulous study of narratives of joint ethnic descent. Angela Kühr shows how the diachronic development of Boeotian foundation myths betrays the existence of divergent and, at times, competing narratives of heroic ancestry. As Kühr is able to assign divergent genealogical claims to different communities (Amphion and Zethos to the regions of the lower Asopos valley, the later tradition of Kadmos to Thebes), this puts her in a position to reconnect the dynamic process of identity formation to the interaction between various communities. As a result of their interaction, these communities gradually reinforced the idea of their commonality.[9] Barbara Kowalzig targets the more general question of the relation between ritual and commemorative practices. In the Boeotian section of her book, she explores how the ritual performance of songs, especially Pindar's poetry, effected both social and political change in Boeotia. Triggering a collapse between mythical past and ritual present, choral performances lend themselves to reconfigurations of the social and political groups which participated in them. Consequently, Kowalzig demonstrates how chorus rituals helped to nourish the all-new idea of a shared political landscape of Boeotia.[10] Finally, Stephanie Larson extends this approach to considering the beginnings of the Boeotian League. In short, she argues that the political landscape of the late Archaic and early Classical period was characterized by the absence of any kind of military or political organization that embraced the various city-states of Boeotia. Rather, she points to what she calls "a loose ethnos" that was based on a remarkably consonant combination of interrelated convictions and beliefs. The key marker among them was the evolving tradition of a joint heroic pedigree of the Boeotians, the migration of their tribe and final settlement, and the emblematic link between the Boeotians and their fellow Hellenes in the Iliadic tradition.[11]

These studies define the new benchmark for the investigation of ethnogenesis in Boeotia. The depth and breadth of their analysis, their conceptual expertise, and the methodological skill with which each one of them is carried out make it difficult to foster an innovative research contribution to the topic. In response to this challenge, the present contribution zooms in on one aspect of identity formation in particular, in only one body of sources: the record of inscriptions. The goal of this essay is to flesh out the relation between the self-awareness of ethnic cohesion and the actual integration of multiple

9 Kühr 2006, with Freitag 2010 (a collective review of Kühr 2006, Kowalzig 2007, and Larson 2007a).

10 Kowalzig 2007, with the review of R. Seaford, *BMCR* 2008.09.25.

11 Larson 2007a, with the review of F. Marchand, *BMCR* 2010.01.26; "loose ethnos": Larson 2007a, p. 189.

groups of people who live in scattered farmsteads, villages or cities, yet nevertheless band together and act as a collective that overcomes local disparity. Epigraphic sources offer a unique opportunity to reflect upon this relationship. Through epigraphy, it is possible to pin down the first explicit reference to an ethnic group in the inscriptions as it survives—i.e., the appearance of the tribal ethnic *Boiotoi* (Βοιωτοί)—and use this as a *terminus ante quem* for the existence of that group. But terminology provides only one such clue that highlights the process of identity negotiation, and, as will be shown, not even a particularly conclusive one at that. More importantly, the overall message and meaning of epigraphic evidence, its content and context, all speak to the conception of tribal self-awareness, and how this awareness translated into collective action.

This, in turn, makes it hazardous to separate inscriptions from other categories of evidence—from non-inscribed texts, archaeology and cultural practice. The limitations of such an exercise are patent. But there is also an inherent methodological justification that defends an isolated approach. As public and, at times, official documents that were sanctioned by the community, inscriptions grant an intimate view of the pattern of belonging together and, more generally, of ethnic self-awareness. In a way, the expression of togetherness in writing separates vague assumptions of belonging together from the cognitive commitment of a group towards its collective action as a tribe, league, or community of citizens. A large number of Greek inscriptions from the late Archaic period derives from the context of religion and ritual. In many cases, they accompany communal offerings to gods and heroes such as tripods, statuettes, or other dedications. The epigraphic record thus represents only one aspect of a more complex ensemble of text, monument, ritual performance, and dedicatory space. Yet in the vast majority of those offerings, the inscriptional evidence is the only part of the ensemble that remains. Epigraphy therefore renders itself a prism through which the collective negotiation behind the dedication can be glimpsed. After the dedicators had resolved the question of the offering itself, when the costs of the artefact were cleared, and its ritual context as well as the physical environment were determined, the issue of the inscription remained. Its composition forced the group of dedicators to reflect upon the wording, negotiate terminology and meaning, and decide what spoke best to their common identity.[12] The question is what identity, and what group.

12 Such an approach to epigraphic evidence has recently received much attention in the field of Roman epigraphy, cf., among others, Dondin-Payre 2007, pp. 331–348; Haussler 2008.

The Earliest Traces

The earliest epigraphic attestations of the *Boiotoi* date from the late 6th century. In Boeotia itself, a series of kouroi and tripod dedications to the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios at Akraiphnion were complemented by inscriptions that state their dedicators.[13] Famous among them is a small stone base with dowels for supporting two feet of a statuette, most likely of Athena as warrior goddess. The inscription chiseled in two sides of the base mentions the *Boiotoi* as dedicators and Athena Pronaia as recipient:[14]

Βοιοτοὶ Προναίαι

The consort of Apollo Ptoios marks one of the earliest sanctuaries of trans-regional importance in Boeotia. In conjunction with the shrine of Poseidon at Onchestos and the temple of Athena Itonia near Koroneia (see below), the Ptoion ranked among the most widely known cult places in Boeotia in the 6th century BC. This trans-regional prominence is documented not only by a large number of dedications, many of them of non-Boeotian provenance, but also by the attestation of visitors to the oracle from various backgrounds.[15] By the second half of the 6th century, control over the sanctuary had become a bone of contention between the Akraiphnians and the Thebans, and the latter seem to have gained possession of the precinct through the course of events. The Akraiphnians were henceforth reduced to a separate sanctuary for their local hero Ptoios.[16]

At least two more appearances of the ethnic *Boiotoi* have been posited for the late 6th century at the Ptoion, yet their attestation is not as clear as is sometimes believed. If they are authentic, then the dedication to Athena Pronaia was only one among several others made by the *Boiotoi* at the Ptoion.[17]

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13 Cf. Schachter 1981–1994, I.52–73. For the tripod dedications in general, Papalexandrou 2008, pp. 259–260; kouroi: Ducat 1971. The site of the Ptoion is discussed by Schachter 1994, pp. 294–295; Kühr 2006, pp. 239–240; cf. also the concise account by Müller 1995.

14 Ducat 1971, p. 409, no. 257.

15 Cf. Hdt. 8.135 on the famous visit by Mys from Karia. Other attested consulters include the Athenians Alkmeonides (*IG* I^3 1469) and Hipparchos (*IG* I^3 1470).

16 Herodotus 8.135 states that the Thebans had assumed authority over the sanctuary by the time of the Persian War. Most likely, the Thebans already oversaw the construction of the large stone temple in the 6th century, cf. Schachter 1994, pp. 300–302, 304–306.

17 Cf. Ducat 1971, p. 419, no. 269a, who cites an inscription on the rim of a small bronze vase which, according to its excavator Maurice Holleaux, reads Βο[ιοτοὶ Ἀθαναί]αι Προναίαι.

Around the same time, the ethnic *Boiotoi* is indicated in a document from Delphi. In an inscription that was recently reexamined by Stephanie Larson, the *Boiotoi* appear as dedicators who seem to have honored Apollo (?) and Athena Tritogeneia (*SEG* XIII 371; Larson 2007b, pp. 99–106). The circumstances of the dedication remain unknown.

- - καὶ τριτο - -
κὲποίεσαν - -
Βοιοτοὶ χαλ - -

In a similar vein, a recently discovered fragmentary inscription on a cinerary casket (*kioniskos*) from Thebes adds a new piece to the body of epigraphic evidence. The inscription, written in Boeotian dialect, is chiseled into a column drum (57 cm high) that was part of a larger dedication monument. According to Vassilis Aravantinos, who published the *editio princeps* in 2006, the dedicants of the monument and its accompanying inscription were "probably the Boiotoi" (Aravantinos 2006, p. 374):

[- - -]ος Ϝοινόας καὶ Φυλᾶς
[- - -] *h*ελόντες κὲλευσῖνα
[- - -]αι Χαλκίδα λυσάμενοι
[- - -]μοι ἀνέθειαν

Aravantinos relates the inscription to a historical context described by Herodotus. In 5.74–77, Herodotus records that the Spartan king Kleomenes, along with allies from Boeotia and the Hippobotai from Chalkis on Euboea, launched a campaign against the Athenians (506 BC). The Boeotians managed to raid two smaller communities on the outskirts of Attica (Oinoe and Hysiai, according to Herodotus), while the Chalkidians plundered some other territories. Yet the overall enterprise fell short before Kleomenes and his forces joined battle with the Athenians. Once the Spartans had disappeared from the scene, the Athenians turned to the Chalkidians for revenge. En route, they defeated the Boeotian army that was still in the vicinity and took many prisoners (5.77.2). Herodotus

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It does not survive. Another Boeotian dedication is referenced by Ducat 1971, p. 448, footnote 5, with no text, photo, or facsimile. Larson 2007a, p. 131, associates the *Boiotoi* with a dedication made to Athena, [- - - ἀνέ]θειαν τ' Ἀθάναι. Cf. also ibid. p. 137, where she conjectures an even earlier occurrence of the *Boiotoi*. Ganter 2013 discusses the treacherous state of those inscriptions.

also cites an inscription from Athens that indicates that the Athenians commemorated their victory over the Boeotians and Chalkidians by dedicating a chariot to Athena on the Acropolis (5.77.4). The funds for the dedication came from the ransom money that was paid for the release of the Boeotian and Chalkidian prisoners:

> ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες
> παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου,
> δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν:
> τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

The verbatim quotation in Herodotus refers to the Boeotians as an *ethnos*, followed by their tribal ethnic in the genitive. If Herodotus' wording is authentic,[18] the Athenians labeled their two opponents as *ethnea*, each with a distinguishable group identity. The basic tenants of such a group identity have yet to be determined, but from the epigraphic record alone it becomes evident that in order to qualify as an *ethnos* a certain amount of group coherence is necessary. In the case of the Hippobotai, the defining notion of their *ethnos* must have been their status as social elite in Chalkis whose power rested on military authority. The *Boiotoi*, too, were an elevated warrior elite, yet their *ethnos* differed from that of the Chalkidians in the sense that it comprised multiple local elites who banded together and took action as a group that was larger than their individual villages and hometowns.

The inscribed *kioniskos* augments Herodotus' account by saying that Phyle was captured along with Oinoe (and Hysiai, which might have been mentioned in line 1 or 2).[19] By implication, the document attests to the engagement of the *Boiotoi* in the incursion into the nearby city of Eleusis; according to Herodotus, that part of the expedition was led only by Peloponnesian forces. Yet the inscription also seems to contradict Herodotus in a broader sense. The tone of the surviving fragment is clearly "strident" (Aravantinos 2006, p. 376), and although the magnitude of the accompanying monument is unknown the mere existence of a public dedication makes it obvious that the *Boiotoi* were by no means shy about the expedition, let alone embarrassed. Without a doubt the picture in Herodotus is one of utter failure on the side

18 The sketchy fragments that survive from two separate copies of the inscription, both found on the Acropolis, do in fact match with Herodotus' text, cf. Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI* 15 with commentary.

19 As suggested by Aravantinos 2006, p. 374.

of the invaders: their planning was terrible, the actual fighting a disaster, the subsequent ransom paid for the release of their prisoners a humiliation. The dedicators of the *kioniskos* monument, on the other hand, prided themselves in having participated in redeeming the allied troops (line 3) and, on the whole, thought of the affair as something worth celebrating. It is difficult to reconcile those perspectives without speculation; in any case, the quest for historical 'veracity' is only of minor concern here. More importantly, the *kioniskos* captures a specific moment in the ongoing identity formation process of the Boeotian *ethnos*. By the time of the dedication, the local elites who had participated in the campaign had shaped their own narrative of what had happened on the battlefield, establishing a complex 'interpretatio Boeotiana' that touched upon various stages of the overall campaign, from the capture of enemy sites to the ransoming of prisoners. The commemorative side of the expedition against Athens will have contributed as much to the development of Boeotian group identities as did the actual fighting.

In both the internal (the *kioniskos* from Thebes, the dedications from the Ptoion) and external (Athens and at Delphi) evidence, the Boeotians are addressed in a collective fashion. Thus by the late 6th century BC, the *ethnos* of the *Boiotoi* was on the map. To round out this picture, an inscription on a small limestone column from Delphi from about the same time attests an agreement between Boeotians and Lokrians. According to Denis Knoepfler, the inscription represents an alliance between the Eastern Lokrians and "le Koinon béotien" (Knoepfler 1992, p. 422, no. 15):

Βοιοτῶν
ΛοϘρῶν

These findings present a seemingly coherent picture. Towards the end of the 6th century BC, the collective ethnic *Boiotoi* was used in inscriptions to identify a distinct group of people who both regarded themselves as Boeotians and who were regarded as such by others. The broader context of those inscriptions is warfare. Without exception, the earliest epigraphic evidence for the *Boiotoi* stems from dedications that were made to commemorate military action. From what can be inferred from other bodies of evidence, the *Boiotoi* spoke a common dialect and shared a joint material culture;[20] they venerated the same gods and goddesses for whom they collectively erected stone temples and cult

20 Vottéro 1998–; Larson 2007a, pp. 111–127. The standard survey of Boeotian pottery continues to be Coldstream 2003, pp. 201–206, the first edition of which appeared in 1977.

centers.[21] And, in the literary tradition of the 5th century BC, they fought collective campaigns against their neighbors and staunchly defended their homeland against hostile invaders.[22] It might even be possible to associate a distinct territory or homeland with the *Boiotoi*, which, at that point, appears to have covered the area south of Lake Kopais, from Koroneia via Thespiai to Thebes and Tanagra.[23] In sum, then, the picture that emerges in epigraphy is relatively clear. Stephanie Larson concludes that, by the late 6th century, the epigraphic evidence presents "a consistent picture of the Boeotians as a collective" (Larson 2007a, p. 131).

Mixed Messages

But one ought to exercise caution. The first caveat concerns the dynamic process of ethnic identity negotiation and its expression in tribal ethnics. To be sure, the simple existence of a tribal *ethnikon* signals some sort of group identity. Yet the *ethnikon* itself neither speaks to the character of that identity, nor does it, as such, betray its defining parameters. As has been demonstrated by Mogens Hansen and others, at least three different types of *ethnika* can be distinguished which foster a different approach towards the definition of group identity: (1) collective ethnics can used in a regional sense, relating to a certain region and, by implication, its inhabitants; (2) they can be applied to a proper tribe, or *ethnos*, and its people; and (3) they can be used of genuine city-*ethnika*, denoting the *polis* to which a named person belonged.[24] So despite the seduc-

21 Cf. Schachter 1981–1994.

22 For the year 519 BC, Herodotus 6.108.2–6 (cf. Thuc. 3.68) relates a Boeotian attack on Plataea (see also below). Later sources (Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 19; *Mor.* 866e–f; cf. Paus. 9.14.2) reference a battle between Boeotians and Thessalians at Keressos, according to Plutarch's colored narrative a seminal event, which seems to date from the early 6th century BC. The tradition poses multiple challenges, cf. Lehmann 1983; Beck 1997, pp. 108–110; see also McInerney 1999, pp. 154–185 on the wider context.

23 Hdt. 5.79 suggests such an embryonic core region. Cf. Roesch 1965, pp. 34–36; Larsen 1968, p. 29; Demand 1982, pp. 18–19, and Schachter, forthcoming, with regard to the earliest coinage.

24 Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 58–70; cf. also Schachter 1994, pp. 301–306, on the inconclusiveness of the Boeotian evidence. Larson 2007a, pp. 129–163 argues for a clear difference between internal and external perceptions of the *Boiotoi*. According to Larson, to outsiders the *ethnikon* held mostly geographical connotations, while "self-identification was not a high priority for the Boeotian collective" at that time (162). Both verdicts are geared

tively consistent appearance of the *Boiotoi* in the epigraphic record, it should be acknowledged that the inscriptions leave the precise group-disposition of the *Boiotoi* mostly in the dark.

A second caveat relates to the nature of the evidence from the inscriptions itself, which is more fragile and treacherous than is sometimes believed. For instance, of the various dedications of the *Boiotoi* associated with the Ptoion mentioned above, only the one in honor of Athena Pronaia physically survives to this day. Its dimensions are so small (4.95 by 5.50 cm) that its Boeotian claims, if indeed made there, were fairly modest. The visual impact of the dedication to visitors to the sanctuary was minimal. Finally, the epigraphic record itself is too inconsistent to allow for consistent projections. For instance, in a dedication made at Delphi, the dedicator, a certain Epiddalos, identifies himself as "a Boeotian from Orchomenos" (*FdD* 3.1.574):

Ἐπίδδαλος τὸπό[λλονι]
Βοιότιος ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενõ]
[h]υπατόδορος Ἀρισστ[ογείτον]
ἐποεσάταν Θεβαίο

The dating of the text is fairly uncontested. The letter forms point to a time around 475, which is also corroborated by the fact that the dedicated statue was made by the same artists, Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton, who later went on to craft a group of statues of the Seven against Thebes at Delphi, celebrating victory in an unknown battle around 460 BC.[25] The inscription thus dates about one generation later than the evidence presented here so far. But it is still close enough to speak to the same early 5th century environment that was referenced above. Curiously enough, Epiddalos refers to himself by means of two ethnic identity markers: one relating to the region or the tribe of the Boeotians, the other to the *polis* of Orchomenos. The inherent meaning of this has triggered various interpretations and explanations. While some believe that Βοιότιος indicates the existence of a true federal citizenship in Boeotia at that time,[26] others reject the notion of citizenship altogether; they believe that ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενõ] simply indicates that Epiddalos lived in Orchomenos, i.e., reference is made here to his whereabouts only. This may suggest that, to

towards Larson's overall perception of "non-political" interpretation of the Boiotoi in the Archaic period.

25 Paus. 10.10.3–4; cf. Schachter, forthcoming.

26 See Roesch 1982, pp. 441–501.

quote Stephanie Larson, Epiddalos "was a citizen of a different *polis* in Boeotia who happened to live in Orchomenos".[27] Again, one should exercise caution and not let the relatively few words of this Archaic inscription speak with too much resonance. With so little comparative evidence at hand, it is tempting but unjustified to overburden the interpretation of the text with towering constructs of established patterns and concepts. Nevertheless, a few remarks can be made. To this end, a minimalist reading that relates ἐχς Ἐρχ[ομενõ] simply to Epiddalos' whereabouts appears to make too much of the actual wording. At the same time, the quest for federal citizenship and, by implication, a legally-defined sphere for the conduct of Boeotian politics, is in all likelihood a red herring.

Let us first recall that the expression of *ethnika*, or of (potentially) double *ethnika*, does not necessarily imply overall coherence. The expression of ethnics can be vastly diverse and, with assignment of regional or tribal rubrics, inconsistent. Linkage to the legal frame of citizenship is only one possibility and, by the late-Archaic period, not even the most obvious one. This being said, it is remarkable that Epiddalos claimed solidarity with two distinct identity groups. Since Epiddalos acted as an individual, he was probably free to present himself as he wished. Neither was he required to negotiate the wording of his identity expression with others, nor was it superimposed upon him. In this situation, Epiddalos chose to identify himself, primarily so, as Boeotian, and then refer to his hometown Orchomenos. Note that the native city of Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton is also mentioned (Thebes, in line 4), which highlighted the fact that the ethnic Βοιότιος was a collective designation that applied to a multiplicity of constituent sub-ethnics. The label *Boiotoi*, then, was an abstract reference to an identity shared by various groups of people from different local backgrounds. It referred to a group that banded together, and perhaps pointed to a specific region that was commonly associated with that group (or to both). For Epiddalos, in any case, that group extended beyond the region that is commonly attributed to the *Boiotoi*, the southern Kopais basin. As a citizen of Orchomenos, Epiddalos expressed his association with, and belonging to, the *Boiotoi*. In the aftermath of the Persian War, at the time of his dedication, the *Boiotoi* had arrived in Orchomenos in one way or another.

The picture of group identity becomes both clearer and murkier when the *Boiotoi* are left aside for a moment and the expression of local identities is

27 Larson 2007a, p. 149. Did Epiddalos maybe share the fate of Asopodoros from Thebes, a famous medizer who, in the aftermath of the Persian War, was exiled to Orchomenos before he was allowed back to Thebes by the mid-460s BC? Cf. Pind. *Isthm.* 1.33–38 with Demand 1982, pp. 28–29.

taken into account. A late-6th century dedication of a bronze helmet to Zeus at Olympia commemorates the victory of Orchomenos over the city of Koroneia in central Boeotia, on the southern shores of Lake Kopais. The text reads:

> Ἐρχομένιοι ἀνέθειαν τõι Δὶ τὸλυ⟨ν⟩πίοι Ϙορόνεια[ν hελόντες]
> *SEG* XI 1208; *LSAG* 93+95, no. 11

In similar vein, a dedicated greave from Olympia commemorates a Theban victory over Hyettos on the northern fringes of Lake Kopais, a near neighbor and traditional ally of Orchomenos:

> Θεβαῖοι τõν hυετίον
> *SEG* XXIV 300; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: no. 207

Two 6th century dedications at Olympia highlight the interaction between Tanagra, on the northern banks of the Asopos river, and other communities in the region. One was made by the Tanagrans themselves, a life-size bronze shield with guilloche pattern on its rim, to commemorate victory in battle, while the other was dedicated by a Boeotian community to celebrate its victory over Tanagra.

> Ταναγραῖοι τõν [- - -]
> *SEG* XI 1202

> [- - -]ν Ταναγραί[ον h]ελόντες
> *SEG* XV 245

Finally, from around 525 BC, a *horos* stone survives from the borderlands between Akraiphnion and Kopai (*SEG* XXX 440). While the latter is usually considered an Orchomenian satellite, the area around Akraiphnion in the second half of the 6th century gradually came under Theban influence. As mentioned above, the construction of the stone temple for Apollo Ptoios was most likely orchestrated by the Thebans; by the time of the Persian Wars, the Ptoion was under their control.

What arises from these scattered pieces of evidence is that by the second half of the 6th century the cities sitting around Lake Kopais had entered into a relatively dense and dynamic network of interaction. Some interaction was hostile—raids of territories or quarrels over pastures and fishing grounds. Yet the possibility of a much broader background of non-violent exchange behind this should not be dismissed. In a way, military action was only the peak

of an ongoing exchange between communities that was also characterized by economic ties, the celebration of cults, and attempts at arbitration. For instance, a series of inscriptions from about the same time records dedications by citizens from other Boeotian cities to Apollo Hismenios at Thebes. The remaining fragments are extremely sketchy, but overall the picture is clear enough to suggest a vivid non-violent interaction.[28] Albert Schachter views those dedications "as an act of homage to the Thebans,"[29] given that Apollo Hismenios was the chief Theban *polis* deity at the time. This possibility should be taken seriously as it fits in nicely with what is known about Boeotian history from other bodies of evidence.[30] But then again, such an interpretation of the power matrix in Boeotia builds on the more basic assumption that the Boeotian communities by the mid-6th century BC had embarked on a lively trans-local exchange with one another.

Throughout their exchange, the cities of the greater Kopais region naturally advanced their identity as citizen communities; liminal action and competition with neighboring cities invigorated the sense of *polis* identity.[31] The thrust towards local identity was complemented by the developing processes of urbanization and political institutionalization. As their urban populations grew and the relation between city and its surrounding hinterland was (re)determined, the developing statehood of late-Archaic *poleis* manifested itself in a genuine political organization.[32] The city-states in Boeotia and elsewhere in central Greece all established more or less similar political offices and institutions that were empowered to govern the affairs of the community. The conduct of politics was thus transferred to an abstract realm of authority; this was clearly a landmark in the conceptual development of politics. With it came the call for strict obedience to the rule of another abstract concept, that of law (*nomos*), and a tapestry of checks and balances to uphold and reinforce the law in every-

28 *AD* 3 (1917) p. 64; *AD* 13 A′ (1930–1931) pp. 105–118; *AD* 16 B′ (1960) [1962] p. 147. I owe thanks to Albert Schachter for pointing these out to me.

29 Schachter, forthcoming.

30 I.e., the literary sources, which attest to the rise of Thebes as hegemonic leader of Boeotia at that time. For survey approaches to Boeotian history in the late-6th century, cf. Dull 1977 [microfilm]; Buck 1979, pp. 107–120; Larsen 1968, pp. 28–32, and Larson 2007a, pp. 165–188 *passim*.

31 This remark builds mostly on the standard account of de Polignac 1995, but see also McInerney 2006 who offers a critical modification of de Polignac's concept of liminality. In particular, McInerney highlights the potential of border sanctuaries and peripheral zones in modulating conflict between neighboring communities.

32 Cf. the survey by Hall 2013.

day politics.[33] The epigraphic sources mirror those trends both in an array of early legal provisions and *polis* decrees, and also in the boastful expression of city-ethnics. In all the cases presented in the section above, the dedicators identified themselves exclusively through their city-*ethnikon*, with no further identity marker attached, and their achievement was framed as communal victory over another community which, again, was addressed by its city-ethnic.

In the epigraphic record, then, the first appearance of the collective tribal ethnic *Boiotoi* is paralleled by the frequent occurrence of city-ethnics that speak to the emergence of local communities, with a very strong sense of developing local identities. Those *poleis* acquired control of their surrounding countryside, they staked their claims in opposition to neighboring cities, and they fought wars over territories and natural produce. Again, their actions were complemented by power negotiations within, where the exercise of political authority was gradually absorbed by citizen assemblies, councils and *polis* executives. The rise of the *Boiotoi* thus coincided with that of the developing local identities of, say, the Thebans (Θηβαῖοι), Tanagrans (Ταναγραῖοι) or Orchomenians/ Erchomenians (Ἐρχομένιοι). The two were interwoven and mutually interdependent. To disentangle them, it is necessary to understand the complex nature of the collective bonding of *poleis* and of their integrated identity as *Boiotoi*.

Trans-Local Integration: *Ethnos* or *Koinon*, Tribe or League?

The nature of Boeotian integration in the late-6th century has long puzzled scholars. At the heart of this debate lies Herodotus, who famously relates an attack led by the Thebans against the city of Plataea in an attempt to compel the Plataeans "to participate in the *Boiotoi*" (ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν, 6.108.5). Later on, Herodotus refers to the leading officials of the *Boiotoi* as *boiotarchai* (9.15.1 in 479 BC). He also implies that the Boeotians held an "assembly" (ἁλία, 5.79.2) in which their joint agenda was debated. Herodotus' account is complemented by Thucydides who speaks of an "ancestral constitution of all Boeotians" at the time of the Theban attack on Plataea.[34] In the later tradition, Plutarch and Pausanias both assign a major collective military operation to the *Boiotoi* in

33 Cf. the contributions by M. Gagarin, P. Fröhlich and Avilés/Mirhady in Beck 2013, each with extensive references to further reading.

34 3.66.1: τὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια πολιτεύειν, i.e., "participate in the ancestral ways of all Boeotians in politics". Cf. also 3.65.2: τὰ κοινὰ τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν πάτρια.

the early 6th century BC.[35] The literary record appears to be supplemented by a large volume of coin emissions that bear the Boeotian shield on the obverse and incuse stamped monograms with the initial of the minting *polis* on the back. Uniformity in weight and style seems to indicate some sort of cooperation between the communities that participate in those emissions.[36] Finally, the exciting discovery of a new inscribed bronze sheet from a public treasury in Thebes independently confirms the existence of the office of *boiotarchēs* in the late 6th/early 5th century BC.[37]

The body of these sources has been taken by some as evidence for the existence of a 6th century Boeotian federal state, a *koinon* or a 'prototype' of such a league respectively.[38] Others advance the idea of a military alliance, a Boeotian *symmachia* that was well established at around the turn of the century.[39] Most recently, both these scenarios were rejected by Stephanie Larson who opts for cultic cooperation among the *Boiotoi* exclusively.[40] Axiomatically, those views coincide in the sense that they each foster an interpretation that prioritizes one aspect of integration in particular, whereas other facets of it are downgraded; sometimes those other facets are altogether dismissed or explicitly excluded.

Recent work in the field of ethnic identity formation suggests a more inclusive approach. Conceptually, it has become pivotal that trans-local integration is not addressed from a perspective that charts the degree of integration by separating various branches of it—integration in a tribe, in cult, in military affairs, or in diplomacy and politics.[41] In many pre-modern societies, and in the dynamic network of developing *polis*-communities of Archaic Greece in particular, those developments all occurred simultaneously, and they were mutually interrelated. If various branches of integration are presented as isolated in

35 The Battle of Keressos, cf. above note 21.

36 Head 1887 [1963], pp. 295–296; Kraay 1976, pp. 109–110; Buck 1972; Ducat 1973, pp. 61–62; and now the detailed analysis by Larson 2007a, pp. 67–109.

37 A photographic reproduction of this document first appeared in Aravantinos 2010, pp. 166–167 (also accessible online via the Electronic Library of the Latsis Foundation). The editio princeps is offered in this volume by V. Aravantinos.

38 Cf. Roesch 1965, pp. 34–36 (with some caution); Larsen 1968, pp. 28–29; Buck 1979, p. 124; Knoepfler 1992, p. 422; Mafodda 2000, pp. 101–102.

39 Busolt-Swoboda 1926, p. 1412; Ducat 1973, pp. 59–73; Tausend 1992, pp. 26–34; Schachter, forthcoming: "a coalition of bodies sharing a common purpose."

40 Larson 2007a.

41 Cf., e.g., the extremely inspiring contributions of Sourvinou-Inwood and Schmitt-Pantel in Murray and Price 1990; more recently, Freitag, Funke and Haake 2006; see also the new volume Funke 2013 which fleshes out the intersection of political and religious integration.

scholarship, it should be kept in mind that such isolation is mostly a heuristic one, resulting from the practical organization of research. In 'real life,' the distinction between tribal, cultic, or political registers is never as clear as the presentation of academic research suggests.

The concerns raised here have immediate bearing on the understanding of the inherent character of the *Boiotoi* and the nature of their union. In the ongoing debate on the early Boeotian League, the defining traits of a tribe and league, and the dividing line running between them, are hardly ever discussed. In one recent notable exception to this trend,[42] it was held that a federal league only exists if and when a tribe adopts a specific form of territorial government that supersedes the more rudimentary structures of the *ethnos*. In other words, the political integration of a league replaces the backwater organization of the tribe. Once certain political structures are in place, it is justified to speak of a true federal state; in retrospect, anything prior to such an arrangement is labelled a loose organization, or a tribal-state. To conceptualize the relation between ethnic and political integration, this view thus argues for the advancement of genuine political patterns (such as the creation of territorial subdivisions).[43]

This view is certainly appealing, but it underscores that the rise of political patterns itself was determined by divergent forces. In Boeotia, and elsewhere in central Greece, the development of local citizen communities was shaped by the internal processes of urbanization and institutionalization, and was subject to outside force or hostile interaction with neighboring parties (see above). That being said, it should be kept in mind that the rise of local citizen communities never unfolded independently from the development of ethnic self-awareness. The sense of belonging to a trans-local group had a formative impact on the organization and conduct of politics in those cities. The tribe provided a frame of reference that transcended the realm of otherwise 'independent' city-states. Its members persistently interacted with each other, in the celebration of festivals, the emission of coins, the construction of regional sanctuaries; in short, in any number of trans-local communications and all sorts of concrete projects large and small. In each of those communications, the *Boiotoi* re-visited their mutual relations; in fact, the body of their members constituted itself and fermented, as it were, along the way. Throughout the process of their interaction, the members of the *Boiotoi* refined their political organization and experimented with new means of exchange with one another; and, naturally,

42 Corsten 1999.

43 Corsten 1999, pp. 7, 9–24, and *passim*.

this trend also strengthened the frame of their interaction, their collective identity as a tribe.

In consequence, to modify the concept of advancement of political patterns at the level of the *koinon*, it is advisable to complement this with the idea of interdependence with affairs at the local level. The early *Boiotoi* were a floating group with a developing sense of belonging together. Their commonness was forged in an identity formation-process that took place both at the level of the city and the *ethnos*. And, it was steered by manifold manifestations and interaction in the multiple nodes of societal networks: in cult and ritual, the shaping of traditions and historical narratives, aristocratic competition and exchange, military, politics, and economic interaction.[44] The real challenge of such an approach is to craft a narrative that pays full homage to the simultaneity of multiple layers of integration.

Towards a New Narrative of Integration

By the second half of the 6th century BC, the *Boiotoi* had emerged as an ethnic group whose members had forged all-new means of communal exchange with one another. This clearly enhanced the political profile of local communities. At the same time, it strengthened the identity of their collective. The new group identity was also fully acknowledged by their fellow Hellenes. As early as 506 BC, and most likely much earlier, the Athenians referred to their north-western neighbors, on the other side of Mt. Kithairon, as the *ethnos* of the *Boiotoi*. In doing so, it would be awkward to assume that the Athenians grappled over whether the Boeotians were a loose tribal organization, a federal league, or a military federation; or, that they thought of their enemies as merely a group that banded together for the performance of common cults. The shortcomings of such an approach are obvious. For the Athenians, and any other Greek state of the day, the *Boiotoi* were a manifest collective of people from different citizen-communities that were scattered over a distinct region. They were clearly identifiable, acted together, and they could be held responsible for their joint action.

Over the next century, this perception developed just as the basic grammar of politics and statehood did in Greece. Yet the pattern remained the same. In various inscriptions from Athens from the 5th century BC, the *Boiotoi* are attested as recipients of *proxenia*, as dedicators, or as treaty partners:

44 The aspect of economic interaction has now been researched by Emily Mackil, cf. her contribution to this volume as well as her recent monograph (Mackil 2013).

429–8 BC *IG* I³ 383, line 101
414? BC *IG* I³ 72, line 5
395 BC *IG* II² 14 [Συμ]μαχία Βοιω[τῶν καὶ Ἀ]θηναί[ων]
400 BC > *IG* II² 2a/b, line 2
394–1 BC *IG* II² 1657, lines 8–9

At the time of the Boeotian-Athenian alliance of 395, the literary sources attest a close network of trans-local integration among the *Boiotoi*. In a famous digression, the author of the *Hellenika* from Oxyrhynchos outlines the affairs in Boeotia (19.2–4 Chambers). Curiously enough, his summary view sets out to explain the organization of local communities first and to speak about the governing principle behind the exercise of power in the Boeotian cities (19.2) before he advances to the affairs of all. Conceptually, then, the author distinguishes between the realm of local communities and that of their trans-local interaction. The distinction is reinforced at the level of language and terminology: living in separate communities (διοικούμενοι), they manage their own affairs (τὰ ἴδια) in four rotating councils, while the joint agenda is put together (συντεταγμένον) collectively.[45] At the level of the *Boiotoi*, he proceeds by saying that their inhabitants were divided into eleven divisions, each of which provided one *boiotarchēs*, 60 councilors, a set number of hoplites, horsemen and jurors, and a certain amount of cash funds. From Thucydides' *History* it becomes evident that the oligarchic rule that was applied in *polis*-governance was also mirrored in the overall organization of the *Boiotoi* and that the same principle of rotating councils was in place.[46]

Unlike the 6th-century league, the nature of this union provokes little controversy amongst scholars. The Boeotian League of the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia*, which is usually thought to have come into being after the Battle of Koroneia in 447/6 BC,[47] is commonly understood as a developed federal state. Indeed, it is often regarded as one of the most refined projects of representative government in Greek antiquity, propelling the idea of proportional representation of citizens from communities of different shapes and sizes and integrat-

45 *Hell.Ox.* 19.3. The idea of marked opposition between *polis* affairs and the collective agenda of all Boeotians is also highlighted by the strong μὲν-δὲ juxtaposition in that sentence. The Boeotian constitution as referenced in *Hell. Ox.* has naturally attracted much scholarly attention. Beck 1997, pp. 90–91 and Behrwald 2005, pp. 119–120 list the most important contributions. The latest study is Bearzot 2009.

46 Thuc. 5.38.2–3.

47 Cf. Larsen 1968, p. 33; Demand 1982, p. 18; Beck 1997, p. 90, and idem, forthcoming, on the circumstances of the Battle of Koroneia.

ing them into one Boeotian "superstate."[48] The details of the Boeotian federal constitution have been investigated by many scholars before and are of no further concern here.[49] It is striking to learn how the author of the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia* concludes his digression on the subject by stating that "in this manner the entire tribe governed its affairs" (τὸ μὲν οὖν ἔθνος ὅλον οὕτως ἐπολιτεύετο, 19.4). The immediate implication is that the *ethnos* of the *Boiotoi* and their federal league were, theoretically, two different entities, with two different modes of participation. Yet in practical politics of the early 4th century, both these entities had fully amalgamated and become one, with a joint common polity as its combining element. This congruency of tribe and league was once again endorsed by the fact that the exercise of political power at the league level was paralleled by the political organization of all Boeotian communities. The overall impression, then, is that the *Boiotoi*, by the early 4th century, were regarded and treated as an ethnic entity in politics, religion, warfare and so on. Whatever the qualifying criteria of state-actorhood were, the Boeotians shared in an identity that enabled them to interact with their fellow Hellenes under the aegis of a distinct, integrated political collective.

From the period between the union of the *Boiotoi* in the 6th century BC and the one attested in the *Hellenika* from Oxyrhynchos comes another exciting epigraphic document. An inscription from Olympia which, in all likelihood, dates from the mid-470s, records a decision by the sanctuary's magistrates to rectify parts of a judgment levied earlier by two other officials:[50]

> Ἄγαλμα Διός· Πύρρο' γρ[α]φέας
> καὶ Χαρίξενος καὶ τοὶ μαστροὶ
> [τ]αὶρ δίκαις, ταὶρ κὰ' τῶν Βοιοτῶν Μένανδρος
> [κ]ἀριστόλοχος τοῖρ Ἀθαναίος ἐδικαξάταν,
> [ἀ]πέγνον καὶ τοῖ' Θεσπιέσσιν καὶ τοῖρ σὺν αὐτὸς
> [μ]ὲ δικαίος δικαστᾶμεν, κἀπὸ τῶν Θεσαλῶν
> [ἀ]πεδίκαξαν. vacat
>
> Offering to Zeus. Pyrrhon, secretary, Charixenos, and the mastroi have decided that the verdicts which Menandros and Aristolochos rendered

48 Cf. Cartledge 2000.

49 Cf. above note 45.

50 *SEG* XXXI 358 = van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, no. 60. Minon 2007, pp. 104–112 offers an in-depth discussion on the dating and a full bibliography.

> against the Boeotians in favor of the Athenians, were not justly rendered in favor of both the Thespians and their dependents, and they have rescinded the penalty against the Thessalians.
>
> Transl. A. SCHACHTER

The inscription is an extremely rich historical document that touches on multiple issues and contexts in the aftermath of the Persian invasion. Much of the immediate circumstances remain unknown and the picture is somewhat shadowy; yet at the same time the text presents itself as a lens through which a specific moment in the history of the sanctuary comes to life. The decree revises an earlier verdict, or parts of it, that were rendered against the *Boiotoi*. The original judgment does not survive. Apparently the sanctuary had levied a collective fine against the Boeotians for a certain offense. In light of the context of Theban Medism, it might be conjectured that their participation in the destruction of Athens in 480–79 BC is the most likely candidate for such an offense. Albert Schachter suggests a more micro-political explanation: that a Theban Olympionikes had played foul in the games of 480 BC. The two are not mutually exclusive; it is easy to see how the latter explanation might have served as a smokescreen for a more general condemnation of the *Boiotoi* as traitors to the Greek cause.[51] In any case, the original decree was not taken back but it was amended that the "Thespians and their dependents" were *expressis verbis* not impacted by it. Whatever the fine that was imposed on the *Boiotoi*, the Thespians were exempt from it, most likely after they had raised an appeal. Staking their claims against the Olympian levy, the Thespians also managed to tie the Thessalians to their case somehow; like the majority of the Boeotian cities—yet unlike the Thespians—, the Thessalian communities had famously medized and supported the Persian cause in 480 BC (if deliberately so or simply because of lack of alternatives is a different question). Thessaly was thus as vulnerable to Hellenic charges as Thebes and Boeotia were, but it remains uncertain how, and why, the penalty against the Thessalians was rescinded.

The Olympian decree identifies the *Boiotoi* as collective perpetrators of something for which they were charged by the magistrates of Olympia, again, collectively. The Thespians were considered a part of that *ethnos* and hence included in the original decree—or were they? Judging from the overall course of events, the role of the Thespians in the Persian War, notably their 700-strong contingent at Thermopylae, was too prominent to have escaped the Olympian *mastroi*. In addition, in the following year, they fought staunchly on the side

51 Schachter, forthcoming.

of the Greeks at Plataea.[52] The falling out between Thebes and Thespiai was common knowledge in the Greek world. It is therefore questionable that the council at Olympia will have been so careless as neither to realize nor acknowledge the distinct path of the Thespians. More likely, when the original levy was decreed, it must have been directed against the *Boiotoi*, on the understanding that the Thespians (and the Plataeans for that matter) were not targeted. So although it must have been clear that the Thespians were exempt, they apparently insisted on the fact that their exemption be made explicit, in order to avoid implicit association with the Medizers. The Thespians belonged to the Boeotian *ethnos*, but they were anxious to take whatever measures were necessary to prevent the group identity from being turned against them and being shanghaied into the camp of the Medizers.

Does this imply, then, that the decree from Olympia treats the Boeotians "as a political rather than merely an ethnic entity?"[53] To be sure, the *Boiotoi* were collectively condemned in what can be regarded as a legal case. But the collective notion of the condemnation itself was not altogether unambiguous. The Thespians were considered a part of that *ethnos*, yet, as in other Boeotian cities, their local *polis*-identity was advanced enough to put themselves in a position where they might act independently from that *ethnos*. They held their local identity against their affiliation with the Boeotian tribe—this too is referenced in the decree by the acknowledging of "their dependents" (line 5). The precise meaning of this is not clear. But Thespiai's status as a local leader of smaller satellite communities in the surrounding country-side might appear as a forerunner of so-called Boeotian syntelies which continued to become such a vital trademark of strong local governance, even at times when the Boeotian League exercised strong federal leadership over its members.[54]

Now everything falls into place. Epigraphic evidence from the late-Archaic and early-Classical periods offers an extremely interesting perspective on the rise of ethnic identities in Boeotia. In light of the inscriptions presented here, it is hard to argue for a loose ethnic entity of the *Boiotoi* towards the end of the

52 Hdt. 7.202. 222. 226–227 (Thermopylae); 9.30 (Plataea). The contingent at Thermopylae apparently equaled the entire body of Thespian citizens, which added even more weight to the city's stance.

53 As argued by Schachter, forthcoming.

54 *Hell. Ox.* 19.3 attests to a Theban syntely (cf. Thuc. 4.93.4) and one of Thespiai that included the communities of Eutresis and Thisbe. Other sources add Askra and Siphai to Thespiai's syntely: Thuc. 4.76–77; Paus. 9.32.1; Plut. *Mor.* fr. 82. At some point, Chaironeia was part of an Orchomenian syntely, cf. Thuc. 4.76.3. On the nature of those syntelies, cf. Bakhuizen 1994; Beck 1997, pp. 208–210.

6th century BC. The inscription from Olympia, along with many other pieces of epigraphic evidence, makes it obvious that the Boeotians, as a collective, took action in a variety of fields. Much of their action was military and political, in a broad sense, but it bears little promise to dissociate these areas from joint performance in cult or ritual. The idea of a loose tribal entity is misguided, at least if it implies an inherent opposition between backward *ethnos* structures and political advancement in a *koinon*. At the same time, it would also be futile to argue for a developed federal state along the lines of later periods. The notion of ethnic integration, and how it plays out in societal action, is simply too complex to be framed in simple dichotomies of loose versus not-so-loose integration. By the late Archaic period, the *ethnos* of the Boeotians had reached the maximum level of trans-local integration that was thinkable in its times.

Yet at the grass-roots level, the *Boiotoi* comprised a series of communities that, as such, developed a strong local identity. In cities around the Kopais basin, along the main axis from Orchomenos in the northwest to Plataea in the southeast—as the citizens of those communities felt loyalties both towards their city and tribe, the relation between *polis* and *ethnos* was extremely fragile, with multiple expressions of competition and cooperation. The integration of their local citizenries into the *Boiotoi* was, therefore, *sui generis*, shaped by the twofold process of tribal identity and state-formation in the Archaic Age. The epigraphic record beautifully captures the parallel trend of *ethnos*- and *polis*-genesis, and it reveals that the two were inextricably interwoven. The attempts to unravel this complexity here are preliminary and in many ways premature. But the basic scenario should be clear enough.[55]

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Creating a Common Polity in Boeotia

Emily Mackil

Recent work in Boeotian epigraphy is gradually transforming our understanding of the history of the region, as many chapters in this volume attest. Here I address a major issue that is currently undergoing just such a transformation. The history of Boeotia cannot be recounted apart from the history of political cooperation in the region, yet our understanding of the Boeotian koinon, as of the Greek koinon more generally, is flawed in two senses. First, we have no compelling analysis of the forces by which it developed. Indeed, the question has hardly been asked. And second, we tend to think of it as a narrowly political institution, despite plentiful evidence to suggest that it was rather more complex and multi-faceted. These two flaws in our understanding of the koinon are, I shall argue, interrelated. Redress of one will yield redress of the other. My remarks here, necessarily schematic, are based on my book on the koinon in mainland Greece that considers not only Boeotia but also Achaia and Aitolia.[1]

I propose that we set aside our assumptions about what a koinon was—assumptions provided by an implicit analogy with modern federalism—and look instead for the full range of interactions between individuals and communities in Boeotia. I am ultimately asking how the Boeotian koinon developed as a state, how its institutions emerged. Building on recent work in the social sciences on the difficult problem of institutional emergence and change, I suggest that the formal institutions of the Boeotian koinon emerged and developed gradually from the interactions of individuals and communities within the region in specific historical contexts. A careful and comprehensive examination of the evidence suggests that the koinon was not a narrowly political phenomenon; it was a religious and an economic institution as well—a social reality as much as it was a political reality. In what follows, I have three interrelated aims: first, to trace the process by which a koinon was created in Boeotia and the means by which it was maintained over time in changing political circumstances; second, to show how ritual action and economic considerations contributed to this process at each stage; and third, to rethink, in this new light, the politics behind the formation of a koinon.

1 Mackil 2013.

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Region-Building: Aspirations and Attempts, 525–457 BC

The first signs of interpolis coordination and cooperation appear in the late sixth century, a puzzling period in Boeotia. In this period the famous "Boeotian shield coinage" begins to be produced, first by Thebes, Tanagra, and Hyettos, followed shortly after by Akraiphia, Koroneia, Mykalessos, and Pharai.[2] These silver coins were minted on the Aeginetan standard with the common obverse type of the cut-out shield. Polis mints marked their own productions by placing their initial in the incuse punch on the reverse or in the shield cutout on the obverse. These coins are routinely taken as strong evidence for the existence of a Boeotian koinon in the late sixth century, but Mogens Hansen has shown that they prove no such thing.[3] If coinage is an elusive source for political history, however, it is an excellent one for economic history. Coins are, above all, economic instruments, and the coordination that lay behind the production of the early Boeotian coinage suggests a high degree of economic interaction among participating communities. It can be seen as one instance of the broader phenomenon of what Peter van Alfen and I have called "cooperative coinage."[4] Minted in the full range of denominations, from didrachmas to obols, these coins are best understood as monetary instruments for trade and the facilitation of joint endeavors undertaken by poleis who felt bound by a sense of shared identity, for which the shield type on the obverse may have served as a symbol.[5] The production of a cooperative coinage reduced the transaction costs associated with trading in multiple currencies, a problem well known to have bedeviled the Greek world above all in the Classical period. We should, I think, take this as a sign that at least some Boeotian poleis were deeply interested in promoting economic cooperation and facilitating exchange across polis boundaries within the region. But I use the phrase "cooperative coinage" in a purely functional sense; the evidence does not allow us to tell whether those poleis that participated did so in a fully voluntary manner, enticed perhaps by the economic advantages, or whether they were coerced. This is where politics sneaks back in.

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2 Kraay 1976, pp. 109–110, with Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 218–226, 383–391 for the view that coins carrying the legend H were minted by Hyettos rather than Haliartos. Cf. Vottéro 1998–2001, I, pp. 33 n. 114, and 53.

3 Coins as evidence for koinon: Larsen 1968, pp. 29–32; Ducat 1973; Buck 1979, pp. 107–120; Siewert 1985, pp. 298–299. *Contra*: Hansen 1996.

4 Mackil and van Alfen 2006.

5 Larson 2007, pp. 67–109.

Roughly contemporary with this early cooperative coinage are inscribed dedications of armor at Olympia that attest to armed conflict within Boeotia in this period, with victories won by Orchomenos over Koroneia, by Thebes over Hyettos, and by Tanagra over an enemy whose name is lost. Tanagra suffered defeat in its turn, also at the hands of an unknown enemy.[6] The source of the conflicts remains unclear, as does the chronology of these dedications relative to the cooperative coinage. It is tempting to suggest that the resolution of some of these armed conflicts led directly to the production of the earliest coins. Thebes and Hyettos, victor and vanquished, respectively, as we know from the Olympia dedication, initially produced them along with Tanagra. The refusal of Orchomenos, the near neighbor of Hyettos, to participate in the cooperative coinage arrangement is also striking, and suggests that the impetus for this effort to coordinate the actions and resources of the Boeotian poleis came at least in part from Thebes.

How did the Boeotian poleis move from conflict to increasingly widespread cooperation in this period? The economic advantages of participating in a cooperative coinage may very well have provided one incentive, explaining why four additional poleis quickly joined the cooperative minting arrangement, but these were still the earliest days of monetization and it is difficult to discern how much of an impact it had on daily transactions. Activities in a different sphere may provide a clue. Evidence for religious activities in this period suggests that, as Durkheim long ago argued, ritual contributed to a nascent sense of group identity. As Angela Kühr and Barbara Kowalzig have recently shown, a growing sense of Boeotian identity was articulated in myths of migration and descent.[7] And those myths were vitally linked to rituals in sanctuaries that were frequented by individuals and groups from multiple Boeotian poleis, like the sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos or that of Athena Itonia at Koroneia.

The sense of Boeotian identity must have been relatively strong by this time, for it seems to underlie the Thebans' attempt to make Plataia "contribute to the Boeotians".[8] "Contribute to the Boeotians" is my translation of Herodotus' phrase ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν, which is usually translated as something like "to join the Boeotian League." But insofar as that assumes the existence of a koinon

6 Victory of Orchomenos over Koroneia, ca. 550–525: *SEG* XI 1208. Victory of Thebes over Hyettos, late sixth century: *SEG* XXIV 300. Victory of Tanagra, ca. 525–500: *SEG* XI 1202. Victory over Tanagra, late sixth century: *SEG* XV 245. The inscriptions are also discussed by Hans Beck in the first chapter of this volume.

7 Kühr 2006a, b; Kowalzig 2007.

8 Hdt. 6.108.5–6.

in 519 like the one that is well attested after 446, it is an over-translation. This episode is significant in several ways, as we shall see, that have been underappreciated. First, it points to an attempt to use an existing group identity as the foundation for a new political organization.[9] Second, the phrase probably has fiscal connotations, for τελέειν is most frequently used by Herodotus to describe the payment of taxes.[10] One thinks immediately of the cooperative coinage: was it produced, in part, to facilitate the payment of taxes by poleis to a nascent Boeotian state, in addition to having the effect of facilitating interpolis exchange within the region? Third, the phrase may also be associated with a fine example of the way in which religious ritual effected the politicization of Boeotian identity. This is where we can begin to see how religion actually contributed to the formation of the regional state, something quite distinct from the emergence of a group identity.

Herodotus' record of the Corinthian arbitration of the dispute between Thebes and Plataia includes the report (6.108.6) that the Asopos River became the boundary between Thebes on the one hand, and Plataia and Hysiai on the other. This fact suggests that the Thebans exerted "pressure" on the whole area south of Thebes, not just on Plataia, an impression that may be strengthened by one of the newly discovered inscribed bronze plaques from late sixth-century Thebes (Matthaiou, this volume). But the result of this exertion may have been different for other communities than it was for the Plataians. Ephoros describes "a mixed group that came from many places, and inhabited the territory beneath Kithairon and opposite Euboea" who were called "Thebageneis, because they were added to the other Boeotians by the Thebans."[11] In the surviving fragment Ephoros says nothing more about these Thebageneis, but they appear in two Pindaric scholia. The first, written by Didymos for a now lost *Paian* and mentioned with the Ephoros fragment recorded by Ps.-Ammonios, simply reports that Thebageneis take a golden tripod to the Ismenion "as a result of this," an allusion to some specific episode that was presumably men-

9 This dynamic is explored in greater detail in Mackil 2014.

10 Hdt. 2.109.2, 125.6; 3.137.5; 7.118, 187.2; 9.93.4. Only once does Herodotus use τελέειν to describe group belonging in which monetary contributions play no part: 2.51.2, on Athenians and Pelasgians (cf. Waanders 1983, p. 111).

11 Ephoros, *FGrHist* 70 F 21 *apud* Ps.-Ammonius, *De adfinium vocabulorum differentia* 231 (Nickau): τίς δ' ἐστὶ διαφορὰ Θηβαγενέων πρὸς Θηβαίους, Ἔφορος ἐν τῇι δευτέραι φησί· "οὗτοι μὲν οὖν συνετάχθησαν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν· τοὺς δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμόρους προσοικοῦντας ἰδίαι Θηβαῖοι προσηγάγοντο πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὕστερον, [δὲ] οἱ σύμμικτοι ἦσαν πολλαχόθεν, ἐνέμοντο δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα χώραν καὶ τὴν ἀπεναντίον τῆς Εὐβοίας, ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Θηβαγενεῖς, ὅτι προσεγένοντο τοῖς ἄλλοις Βοιωτοῖς διὰ Θηβαίων."

tioned in the lost *Paian*.[12] This impression is confirmed by a scholion to Pindar, *Pythian* 11. Pindar describes the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios in Thebes as a "treasury of golden tripods," and the commentator explains that this was "because the Thebageneis used to carry tripods there."[13] Ephoros' description of their original territory, "beneath Kithairon and opposite Euboea" suggests precisely the area in which the Thebans were interested in 519. They were, of course, trying to make the Plataians "contribute to the Boeotians" and Ephoros is clear in stating that the Thebageneis "were added to the other Boeotians by the Thebans." It seems to me that the late sixth century is the most likely date for this event; for if the Pindaric scholiast is correct in his explanation of the poet's description of the Ismenion, then it must predate *Pythian* 11, which was likely composed in 474.[14] These fragmentary hints of a fascinating ritual practice may be corroborated by an inscribed *kioniskos* discovered at the Ismenion. The text on the *kioniskos*, which almost certainly served as a base for a dedicated tripod, reads simply, [Ἀπόλ]λονι Ποτνιεῖς and is dated to the late sixth century.[15] Potniai is, of course, one of the small communities of the Parasopia, situated precisely in the area identified by Ephoros as the home of the Thebageneis. Nassos Papalexandrou has recently argued that collective dedications of tripods were a means of sanctifying that group's control over a particular territory by symbolically transferring it to a god.[16] If this is correct, then the tripodophoria of the Thebageneis functioned as a symbolic recognition of the Thebans' control over the group's former territory, insofar as the tripod was dedicated to a Theban god.

If I have reconstructed this ritual and its historical context correctly, it served to articulate the membership of these small communities of the Parasopia in the broader social, cultural, and economic community of Boeotia. At the same

12 Ephoros, *FGrHist* 70 F 21: Θηβαῖοι καὶ Θηβαγενεῖς διαφέρουσιν, καθὼς Δίδυμος ἐν ὑπομνήματι τῶι πρώτωι τῶν Παιάνων Πινδάρου φησίν· "καὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἀπὸ τούτου Θηβαγενεῖς πέμπουσι τὸν χρύσεον εἰς Ἰσμηνίου πρῶτον."

13 Pind. *Pyth*. 11.4–5: χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων| θησαυρόν. Schol. B Pind. *Pyth*. 11.4–6 (Drachmann 1903–1997, II.255): ἐν τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ πολλὰς ἀνακεῖσθαι τρίποδας· οἱ γὰρ Θηβαγενεῖς ἐτριποδοφόρουν ἐκεῖσε.

14 Most scholia to *Pythian* 11 date the victory of Thrasydaios in the Boys' Stadion race, the occasion for the poem, to 474. Some scholia also give 454, but the earlier date is widely preferred: see Finglass 2007, pp. 5–27.

15 Keramopoullos 1917, p. 64. Two other highly fragmentary inscribed dedications may provide further evidence: *SEG* XXII 417 (late sixth century); Keramopoullos 1930–1931, p. 106 (fifth century). The names of the dedicants are too lacunose to be restored with confidence, making certain conclusions impossible.

16 Papalexandrou 2005, 2008.

time, however, it made an implicit claim about Thebes' position of leadership within the region. When the Thebans imposed on the Thebageneis the ritual obligation of the *tripodophoria*, they asked them to declare that they had been "added to Boeotia" by "becoming Theban," an implicit recognition of Theban claims to regional hegemony. The ritual of the *tripodophoria* thereby contributed to the effort to create a common polity in Boeotia, to constitute a new political order in which the Boeotian *ethnos* assumed a political form under the leadership of Thebes. It was an important mechanism for both community- and state-building precisely because of ritual's unique ability to promote cooperation and deflect resistance.[17]

We can, I think, see here the beginnings of interpolis coordination within Boeotia. These are beginnings deeply situated in regional economic interactions and ritual practices that not only effected a sense of group identity but also contributed to its politicization. The extent to which the conflicts of the later sixth century had been transformed into coordination by these means is well illustrated by Herodotus' report of Boeotian deliberations in the disastrous aftermath of the campaign against Athens in 506 in which we know that Thebes, Tanagra, Koroneia, and Thespiai participated. But it was the Thebans who consulted the Delphic oracle for advice about revenge. According to Herodotus, the oracle told the Thebans to "ask those who are nearest" for assistance; in an assembly they deliberated about the meaning of this utterance: "Are not those who live nearest to us the Tanagrans and Koroneians and Thespians? And these men, already fighting eagerly, wage war alongside us."[18] Herodotus is not one to downplay the brutality of the Thebans, but this passage gives us no ground to argue that Tanagra, Koroneia and Thespiai were acting under coercion. It is possible that the coordination we see in 506 had been effected in part by the earlier conflicts reflected in the dedications at Olympia, but if that is true then a transformation had taken place, facilitated at least in part by shared rituals and common economic interests.

The Thebans were clearly leading the effort to coordinate the poleis of Boeotia in the late sixth century. Further evidence of the success of this attempt is sorely limited. Herodotus' mention of boeotarchs in 479 is inconclusive. However suggestive the name of the magistrates, we know only that they ordered some inhabitants of the Asopos district—Thebageneis, perhaps?—to guide Mardonios' army into Theban territory.[19] They are, then, almost certainly

17 See the rich and nuanced theoretical analysis of ritual by Catherine Bell 1992, pp. 81–88, 140–142, and on deflecting resistance, famously, Victor Turner 1967, p. 30.

18 Hdt. 5.79.1–2.

19 Hdt. 9.15.1.

Theban magistrates, an impression supported, if not absolutely confirmed, by the bronze plaque recently discovered at the Theban sanctuary of Herakles that mentions a boeotarch.[20] These magistrates, thus far all Theban, may bear a name that was more normative than descriptive. A single Boeotia, unified as a state by a single set of formal institutions, was not yet a reality though it was clearly a goal of the Thebans and some others. The medism of Thebes and most of Boeotia in the Persian Wars, followed by the ten-year occupation of Boeotia by the Athenians after Oinophyta in 457, put an end to these intrinsically autonomous aspirations.

State-Building: Bottom-up Federalism and Its Limits, 446–386 BC

The Athenians were expelled, of course, following the Boeotian victory at Koroneia in 446, which created an opportunity to resume the coordination project begun in the late sixth century. But the environment was now radically changed by the prominent role played by Orchomenos, Chaironeia, and other communities in the revolt that had led to the expulsion of the Athenians, and by the poor record of Theban leadership since 506.[21] The emphasis immediately after Koroneia was on Boeotia as a whole, and the unity of the Boeotians.

Again religion plays a strikingly important part. The battle took place near the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, and a trophy was erected by the Boeotians directly before the temple; it was still there when Agesilaos led the Spartans against the Boeotians at Koroneia in 394.[22] The goddess also received a new, bronze cult statue sometime after 446, made by Agorakritos, the pupil of Pheidias. It would be wrong, however, to dismiss this as mere commemoration of a military victory: in the same period we have our first evidence—from Thucydides and from the Theban historian Armenidas—of the link between Athena Itonia and the myth of Boeotian migration from Thessaly.[23] Although that myth

20 The boeotarch's ethnic is not preserved. The text may "vindicate the Halicarnassian historian" (Aravantinos, this volume, p. 202) if in fact it belongs to the first half of the fifth century, but it still leaves us in the dark as to the powers of the boeotarch and indeed as to the issuing authority. The appearance of the ethnic *Thebaēos* in the text points to a supra-Theban context; we must still caution against assuming that "the koinon" as we know it from a later period lay behind this document.

21 Larsen 1960, p. 11.

22 Plut. *Vit. Ages*. 19.1–2; cf. Xen. *Hell*. 4.3.20.

23 Armenidas, *FGrHist* 378 F1, from his *Thebaika*. Armenidas' date is uncertain; Jacoby placed him before 400 without further comment. The tradition is probably related to the one

may have predated the mid-fifth century, its mention by Thucydides suggests that it was particularly prominent in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, a hint that the Boeotians were asserting a strong group identity rooted in ritual practice, common descent, and a shared territory.

Pindar gives an important clue about the rituals that were being performed at this sanctuary in the immediate aftermath of the Boeotian victory, and his testimony suggests that the Itonion was now vital to the process of creating a unified and fully politicized Boeotia. Pindar's fragmentary *daphnephorikon*, fragment 94b, was composed and performed around 445–440; it commemorated the service of the Theban Agasikles, son of Pagondas, as *daphnephoros* or laurel-bearer in the Theban cult of Apollo Ismenios. Along the way, Pindar describes Agasikles' parents as having been "honored *by the amphiktiones* for their celebrated victories with swift-footed horses, for which on the shores of famous Onchestos and b[y the glori]ous temple of Itonia they adorned their hair with garlands, and at Pisa."[24] It is a striking phrase: *honored by the amphiktiones*. I take this literally to mean, "those who live around them," the people who live in the region and participate in this group of cults; whether this amphiktyony had any formal institutional presence is entirely unclear. But it is clear that the cult of Athena Itonia was now imbued with Panboeotian significance by myth as well as by rituals that drew participants from throughout the region. The *daphnephoria* itself is a fascinating ritual that, as Leslie Kurke has shown, the Thebans were using in this period as a means of actively advancing the connection between Thebes and the rest of Boeotia.[25]

It is only after 446, precisely the period in which Pindar's *daphnephorikon* was performed, that we find compelling evidence for the creation of formal political institutions governing all of Boeotia. Although we do not have explicit evidence for the process by which these institutions were formalized and accepted as binding on all of Boeotia, we do know quite a lot about the institutions themselves (thanks primarily to the Oxyrhynchus Historian) and their very configuration reveals some important and highly underappreciated facts about the process. Political scientists have shown that there are in essence only two paths to the development of federal institutions: they can be built from below, with states voluntarily "designing rules to sustain cooperation" among themselves, or they can be built from above, with one state that wields inordinate power over others imposing such rules and using coercion if necessary.[26]

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recorded by Thucydides about migration from Thessaly (Thuc. 1.12.3; cf. Hekataios, *FGrHist* 1 F 2).

24 Pind. *Parth.* 2 [frag. 94b] 41–49 (Snell-Maehler).

25 Kurke 2007.

26 Bottom-up federalism: De Figueiredo and Weingast 2005, p. 114; cf. Riker 1964, pp. 7–8

The outcomes will inevitably be different, with the institutions in a top-down federal state favoring the interests of the power-holder, while those formed from the bottom up can be predicted to be more equitable. The institutions of the Boeotian koinon after 446 strongly suggest that the state was, in fact, built from the bottom up.

The system of μέρη or districts described by the Oxyrhynchus Historian reflects institutions designed to sustain cooperation among the Boeotian cities by giving them participatory rights and obligations that were probably aligned in some way to their population size. These institutions are strikingly equitable and bear traces of an otherwise lost negotiating process. For example, although in 395 the Thebans controlled four of the eleven districts of Boeotia, the Oxyrhynchus Historian reports that two of those four had previously been controlled by Plataia, Skolos, Erythrai, Skaphai, "and the other places previously in *sympoliteia* with them."[27] He does not say when Thebes gained control of those additional two districts, but it can only have been with the Theban war on Plataia, 431–427. Before that period Plataia and the small communities of the Parasopia, having constituted two districts, must have been members of the Boeotian koinon, represented in the federal council and courts, having the power to jointly appoint two boeotarchs and the obligation to meet military levies and pay taxes.[28] This arrangement had effectively protected the territory of Plataia and upheld the Corinthian arbitration of 519. It also guaranteed the Plataians, like all the other Boeotian poleis, some power via representation and participation in the decision-making procedures, judicial system and magistracies of the federal government, providing a powerful incentive for this hesitant border polis to join the koinon.

The equitable institutions governing a politically united Boeotia after 446 represent a radical change from the situation that prevailed in the late sixth

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whose "centralized" and "peripheralized" federalisms are essentially the same as my top-down and bottom-up federalisms, respectively, with the same predicted outcomes.

27 *Hell. Oxy*. 16.3 (Bartoletti). *SEG* XXXI 358, a bronze tablet recording an arbitration by the *mastroi* in Olympia of a dispute between the Boeotians, Thespians, Athenians, and Thessalians makes it appear that the Thespian *sympoliteia* predates the Persian Wars: [ἀ]πέγνον καὶ τοῖ‹ρ› Θεσπιέσσιν καὶ τοῖρ σὺν αὐτὸς (line 5). Cf. Siewert 1977, and idem 1981.

28 There has been extensive discussion and debate about the meaning of *Hell. Oxy*. 16.3 and the membership of Plataia in the koinon before 432. It is doubted by Bruce 1968, p. 190, Sordi 1968, p. 70, and Prandi 1988, pp. 79–91 but most scholars agree that Plataia must have been a member between 446 and sometime in or shortly before 431 (Larsen 1960, p. 12, and idem 1968, pp. 132–133; Roesch 1965b, p. 40; Amit 1971, p. 63, and idem 1973, p. 87).

century: how do we account for it? The poor record of Theban leadership since 506, the success of Orchomenos, Chaironeia and others in leading the revolt of 446, and the role of ritual in the cementing of a truly inclusive Boeotian identity all contributed to a wholly different environment, characterized by cooperation and a striking absence of hierarchy. It seems clear that the poleis of Boeotia had grasped the advantages of cooperation along with the knowledge that those advantages would be attained with tremendous difficulty if one polis assumed significantly greater power than the others.

Yet these very institutions quickly became the framework upon which the Thebans re-established their regional hegemony. The Plataians left the koinon sometime between 446 and spring 431, and when the Thebans attacked them with the aim of restoring the city as a member polis, we have no evidence that they were joined by other Boeotians.[29] What is striking is that the attempt to coerce Plataia back into the koinon was an utter failure; if the destruction of the city sated a desire for revenge, it added nothing whatsoever to the common resources of the koinon. The aggressive leadership position of Thebes within the koinon by 427 is indubitable, but it is important to distinguish this from the situation that prevailed immediately after Koroneia in 446. Despite this leadership position, the Thebans were governed by the same set of institutions that had been established sometime after Koroneia, and this very fact underscores the essentially federal nature of the Boeotian state in this period.

All of that changed, of course, after the expulsion of the Spartans in 379. Having taken the lead in that act, the Thebans resorted to violence to punish Plataia and Thespiai for their refusal to abandon the Spartan alliance; the adherence of Tanagra, Orchomenos and Tegyra was, on the other hand, at least quasi-voluntary.[30] The institutions of the koinon in the period from 379 to 335 are rather poorly attested, but it appears that the highest magistrates of the state, the college of seven boeotarchs, were now exclusively Theban.[31] The legislative

29 Thuc. 2.2.1–3.

30 Plataia and Thespiai: Xen. *Hell.* 6.3.1, 5; Diod. Sic. 15.46.6, 51.3; Isoc. 6.27, 14 *passim*; Dem. 16.4, 25, 28; Plut. *Pel.* 25.7. Tanagra: Isoc. 14.9. Orchomenos: Diod. Sic. 15.37.1–2, Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 16.2–3. Tegyra: Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 16–17.10; Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 27.3; Diod. Sic. 15.81.2. Other Boeotian poleis: Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.63. The initial adherence of Orchomenos is to be distinguished from the city's destruction by Thebes in 364, an act of retaliation for the attempted oligarchic coup of the Orchomenian cavalry (Diod. Sic. 15.79.3–6; cf. Dem. 20.109; Paus. 9.15.3).

31 Seven boeotarchs at Leuktra: Diod. Sic. 15.53.3, Paus. 9.13.7. The proxeny decrees issued by the koinon in the 360s include lists of the seven boeotarchs, which never include patronymic or ethnic: *SEG* XXXIV 355 ll. 12–15 with Roesch 1984; *IG* VII 2408 ll. 12–16; *IG* VII 2407 ll. 12–15 with Knoepfler, *BE* (2009) 261. See also Knoepfler 1978, p. 379; Bakhuizen

body of the state, the *damos*, was a primary assembly that met in Thebes and clearly supplanted the old council, which had been attended only by representatives appointed or elected by member poleis via the districts.[32] The meeting place alone privileged Theban attendance, and therefore Theban representation in the assembly; despite the appearance of a stronger democratic leaning in this new government, the Thebans clearly exercised greater political privileges than the citizens of other Boeotian poleis.

Given the cooperative origins of the koinon that was created after 446, how do we account for the continued participation of the other Boeotian poleis after 379, when their political rights were so significantly eroded? The resistance that we know of in this period—Plataia, Thespiai, eventually Orchomenos—is readily understandable; it is the compliance of all the others that puzzles.[33] It is not enough to suppose that they remained compliant because the threat of Theban force was constant and real enough to deter them from rebellion. Although that may have been part of the story, the evidence suggests that economic incentives and ritual practices encouraged members of the koinon

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1994, p. 326 and n. 71; Knoepfler 2000. Buckler 1979, p. 57, insists that there were non-Theban boeotarchs in the period 378–338, but relies for his argument on *SEG* XXV 553 and *SEG* XXVII 60, both of which belong after 338 (contra Gehrke 1985, p. 180 n. 97) and tell us nothing about the earlier period. He is followed in this by Beck 1997, pp. 102–104, and idem 2000, pp. 333–335. Buckler was more cautious later (Buckler 1980, p. 28) but still concluded that "all citizens were probably eligible for the office." Larsen 1955, p. 72, implies that the boeotarchs in this period still represented the various Boeotian communities, but he is compelled to admit that by virtue of voting procedures and meeting place, the Thebans dominated political decision-making in the koinon. Roesch 1965b, p. 46, followed by Vottéro 1995, argues that the seven boeotarchs were comprised of four Thebans, one Tanagran, and one from each of the remaining two districts, Haliartos—Lebadeia—Koroneia, and Akraiphia—Kopai—Chaironeia; cf. Ducrey and Calame 2006, p. 73. The reduction from eleven to seven occurred, according to Roesch, when Thebes annexed Thespiai and Orchomenos, each of which had previously sent two boeotarchs. However, the annexation of Orchomenos did not occur until after the battle of Leuktra, at which already there were only seven boeotarchs. It is, in short, most likely that Thebes had exclusive control over the college of boeotarchs in this period.

32 The sovereignty of the *damos* is reflected in the formula of decrees of the period: Mackil 2008 (*SEG* LV 564 bis), l. 2; *SEG* XXXIV 355 l. 2; *IG* VII 2408 l. 1; *IG* VII 2407 l. 3; Vlachogianni 2004–2009 (*SEG* LVIII 447), l. 3.

33 Resistance of Plataia and Thespiai: Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.42–45, 6.3.1, 5; Diod. Sic. 15.46.6, 51.3; Isoc. 6.27, 14 *passim*; Dem. 16.4, 25, 28; Plut. *Vit. Pel.* 25.7; Paus. 9.1.8. Resistance of Orchomenos, leading to the destruction of the city by Thebes in 364: Diod. Sic. 15.79.3–6; Dem. 20.109; Paus. 9.15.3.

to remain, despite the fact that the original terms of the federal bargain had been broken by Thebes.

Let me treat ritual first—and very briefly. After Leuktra, the Thebans established the Basileia in honor of Zeus Basileus, in accordance with an oracle they had received from Trophonios at Lebadeia before the engagement.[34] Fourth-century inscriptions found at Tanagra and Thebes record dedications made in commemoration of victories at the new festival's contests, demonstrating that from its earliest stages the Basileia drew contestants from across the region.[35] The embattled Thebans, leading the effort to unite Boeotia under new rules, had recourse to the oracle, one of the oldest and most prestigious in Boeotia, as a means of claiming divine approval of their attempt to rebuild the Boeotian koinon; the establishment of the Basileia in accordance with the oracle can only have strengthened that position.[36] In this context, the participation of athletes from Tanagra and Thebes (and probably elsewhere, though we lack explicit evidence) in the new ritual games at Lebadeia implicitly constituted nothing short of a recognition of the legitimacy of the koinon's restored rule over the region, and of the justice of the defeat of the Spartans and their Boeotian supporters. Lebadeia was also, however, a sensitive point in the broader political geography of Boeotia at the end of the 370s. The city had been sacked by Lysander in 395 for its refusal to revolt from the Boeotian koinon, unlike its neighbor Orchomenos, so its allegiance to the Boeotians was perhaps natural but all the more important in the context of Leuktra.[37] The battle itself was fought in the territory of Thespiai and not far from Plataia, both of which stood in ruins at the time. Elevating the importance of an old shrine in the extreme west of the region was a strategy for ensuring the allegiance of the entire central corridor of Boeotia. But in 371 Orchomenos, the northeastern neighbor of Lebadeia, continued to defy the Theban-led movement to rebuild the Boeotian koinon, and the establishment of the Basileia must have exerted powerful pressure on the recalcitrant city by aligning the success of the renascent koinon with the will of the gods.[38]

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34 Diod. Sic. 15.53.4; Kallisthenes, *FGrHist* 124 F 22(a).

35 *IG* VII 2532 (Thebes); *IG* VII 552 (Tanagra).

36 Antiquity and prestige of the Trophonion: Hdt. 1.46.2, 8.134.1; Schachter 1981–1994, III, pp. 75–77.

37 Plut. *Vit. Lys*. 28.2. Pro-Spartan allegiance of Orchomenos in 395: Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.4, 6–16. The city continued to be held by a Spartan garrison until 386: Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.29.

38 Opposition of Orchomenos in 371–370: Xen. *Hell*. 6.4.10; Diod. Sic. 15.57.1. So too Schachter (1981–1994, III, pp. 77, 112), though his emphasis on "Theban" motives is somewhat mislead-

If ritual performed the work of aligning the new order with the ancient authority of Trophonios and secured the participation of multiple Boeotian communities in the new festival for Zeus Basileus as an implicit endorsement of that new order, economic interests may also have begun to contribute to the willingness of poleis to participate despite the changed political circumstances after 379. To understand how this may have worked, we need to look briefly beyond Boeotia.

In 382 the poleis of Akanthos and Apollonia sent an embassy to Sparta appealing for help in combating what they regarded as the menacing power of the koinon of the Chalkideis. Xenophon gives us a speech purportedly delivered by the Akanthian ambassador Kleigenes before the Spartan assembly, which excitedly describes the sources of the Chalkidians' power:

> What stands in their [scil. the Chalcidians'] way, when there is plenty of timber in their territory for ship-building, and cash revenues from many harbors and many trading posts, as well as a large population on account of an abundance of food? … [T]he poleis that have joined the [Chalcidian] koinon unwillingly, if they see any opposition, will revolt quickly. If, however, they become closely connected by intermarriage (*epigamia*) and the right to acquire property (*enktesis*) in one another's poleis, rights they have already voted, and if they recognize that it is beneficial to be on the side of the stronger … it [scil. the koinon] will perhaps not be so easily dissolved.
>
> XEN. *Hell.* 5.2.16–19

Xenophon's claim about "rights they have already voted" seems to be supported by a series of twenty-six deeds of sale from several poleis in the region, inscribed in the fourth century; they suggest, by their formulaic similarity and their use of the federal priest as eponymous magistrate to date the sales, that they were all carried out under a law of the koinon.[39] The rights of *enktesis* and *epigamia*, by being extended across polis boundaries in the early fourth-century Chalkidian koinon, would have had the effect of promoting economic mobility within the region. And this is profoundly important in the Mediterranean where, as

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ing: the need here was to deploy symbols that would facilitate the promotion of Boeotian unity and its institutionalization.

39 They are conveniently collected in Game 2008, nos. 13–28 (Olynthos), 29–33 (Stolos), 34–35 (Polichne), 38 (Torone). This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that several deeds of sale from Amphipolis, never a member of the koinon, observe different formulae: Game 2008, nos. 1–12.

Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell have shown, the highly fragmented landscape yields a dense carpet of microregions in which resources are highly localized and specialized.[40] Sticking with the Chalkidian example for a moment, timber, harbors, and abundance of food could not all have been produced by a single Chalkidian polis; these were the collective resources of the entire region, and the koinon's strength, in Kleigenes' analysis, stemmed from institutions devoted to pooling those resources effectively, regardless of polis boundaries. In the history of Greek political economy, this was nothing short of revolutionary.

The creation of regional property rights was not peculiar to the Chalkidike. Although the evidence is not quite as clear, it is generally accepted that all Boeotian citizens had the right of property ownership throughout the region.[41] In order to better appreciate why this matters, we need to consider how resources were distributed in Boeotia. Despite a strong ideology of autarky, most poleis had access to a rather limited array of resources, and this is as true for the poleis of the comparatively rich agricultural region of Boeotia as it is for most of the rest of the Greek world. Lake Kopaïs, of course, was famed for its eels, which were widely exported as early as the fifth century and were also consumed locally.[42] The polis of Anthedon, opposite Euboea, had an economy unusually dominated by the extraction of marine resources. The third-century travel-writer Herakleides Kritikos gives a vivid description of the Anthedonians as fishermen, ferrymen, and shipbuilders, but he also reports that while the city has plenty of fish, "it is rather short of grain due to the poor quality of the soil" and adds that "the land is not such that they could work it, so they have none."[43] But a community can only eat so much fish, and the Anthedonians must have engaged heavily in export—long-distance if the fish was

40 Horden and Purcell 2000.

41 Roesch 1973, p. 267 found it unlikely that citizens would not have a right that was regularly bestowed on foreign *proxenoi* (as it is in *SEG* XXXIV 355 ll. 6–7; *IG* VII 2407 ll. 7–8; *IG* VII 2408 ll. 10–11; Mackil 2008, l. 5). The logic is also implicit in Knoepfler's argument (e.g. 1999, p. 242 n. 66) that Boeotian cities did not bestow proxeny on citizens of other Boeotian cities—because they already had these privileges by virtue of being Boeotian citizens.

42 Export: Ar. *Ach*. 878–884, 962; *Lys*. 35–36, 702; *Pax* 1005; Hellanikos *ap*. Σ Ar. *Lys*. 36 (= *FGrH* 4 F50); Matron, the fourth-century parodist, *ap*. Ath. 4.135c–d; Antiphanes, the fourth-century comic poet, *ap*. Ath. 1.27e = *CAF* 2.15; Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, *Hypomnemata ap*. Ath. 2.71b (= *FGrH* 234 F1); cf. Ath. 14.622f; Nonnus *Dion*. 13.64–65; Hsch. s.v. Κωπαΐδες; Eust. *Il*. 4.516 (van der Valk). Local consumption: Agatharchides, *FGrH* 86 F 5; Vika et al. 2009.

43 Her. Krit. 23–24 in Pfister 1951 and *Brill's New Jacoby* 369A F1.23–24 (McInerney 2012).

salted, but regional if it was fresh. It was certainly from Anthedon, as Ephraim Lytle has most recently concluded, that much of the saltwater fish would have been imported to inland Akraiphia, where the city's *agonarchs* set prices for a long list of both salt and freshwater fish in the third century.[44] While the Akraiphians lacked their own source for saltwater fish, they had plenty of arable land and pasturage that they used to reward creditors and as security on public loans, as we know from several third-century inscriptions.[45] Other texts from Orchomenos, Kopai and Thespiai attest to similar uses of what appears to have been plentiful land.[46] This is to be contrasted with the situation in another eastern Boeotian city. Again it is Herakleides who gives us the details: Tanagra, famed for its pottery production, has a surplus of vines and olives, but the land "does not produce nourishing fruits in abundance."[47] We gain, then, a picture of Boeotia as a region with a highly diverse and complementary set of resources: plentiful fish, vines, and olives along the east coast but little arable land; plentiful land for agriculture and pastoralism around the Kopaic basin, but little else. In these conditions the extension of property rights to all Boeotian citizens throughout the region would have made opportunities for diversification routine rather than exceptional, and these opportunities may well have been a significant incentive for cities to remain members of a Boeotian koinon in which power had been centralized in the hands of Thebes.

Restoring Bottom-up Federalism, 316/5–171 BC

This centralization of power, however, did not endure the onslaught of Alexander in 335. After the destruction of Thebes, the koinon functioned without its former leader. Although the city was rebuilt by Kassander in 316/5, it probably did not become a member of the koinon again until 287.[48] The political institutions that were implemented in this period reflect a strikingly equitable distribution of authority, which points, once again, to cooperation rather than coercion as the driving force behind it. The districts attested in the Oxyrhynchus Historian were effectively reinstated, though they were now seven in number,

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44 Lytle 2010. *Ed. pr*. Feyel 1936, pp. 27–36 (fragment B only); Salviat and Vatin 1971, pp. 95–109 (frags. A–B, new readings in B).

45 *SEG* III 356, 359 (Migeotte 1984, nos. 16a, b).

46 Orchomenos: *IG* VII 3171 (Migeotte 1984, no. 12). Kopai: *SEG* XXII 432 (Migeotte 1984, no. 15). Thespiai: series of nine lease documents, discussed by Osborne 1985, Pernin 2004.

47 Her. Krit. 8–10.

48 Roesch 1982, pp. 435–439; Knoepfler 2001b.

rather than eleven as they had been before 386.[49] They served as a mechanism for political representation, taxation, and military levies across Boeotia. The principal deliberative body in this period, the *synedrion*, was comprised of representatives of all the poleis and met at Onchestos.[50] Theban claims to leadership were no longer rooted in an inequitable hold on the political structures of the koinon; indeed, the districts may have been reinstated precisely as a means of preventing the Thebans, newly restored to the koinon, from attempting to concentrate power in their own hands again.[51]

If, as I have been arguing, religious and economic ties served as the foundation of the koinon and, in very different ways, helped to protect it from complete collapse during periods of endogenous pressure, under the more equitable conditions of the Hellenistic period they continued to do important work to preserve the koinon over time.

Federal states can be undermined from within by two means: the secession of member states; and the extreme centralization of power. Both paths threatened the Boeotian koinon during the fourth century, an experience that illustrated the need to preserve simultaneously the integrity of each member polis of the koinon and the unity of the state as a whole. This was a delicate but absolutely vital business, and the Boeotians of the Hellenistic period achieved it, at least in part, by ritualizing the politically prevalent strategy of representation. The clearest example is the corpus of ten inscriptions recording the dedication of tripods by the Boeotian koinon in the early third century.[52] The inscriptions record not only the name of the deity receiving the tripod, but also the name of the Boeotian archon followed by seven, and in one case eight, officials called aphedriates, designated by name, patronymic, and city ethnic. Denis Knoepfler's analysis of the patterns revealed by these lists of names has shown, quite persuasively, that the aphedriates were representatives not of poleis but of districts within the koinon.[53] The Boeotians, I suggest, extended their system of districts, which had political, military and fiscal functions, to facilitate the representation of every community in ritual actions made in the name of all Boeotians. The college of aphedriates, serving to represent all member poleis in a more or less equitable fashion, was a means of ensuring that the dedications were in fact made by all "the Boeotians" as the texts say—Βοιωτοὶ ἀνέθειαν. Such

49 Whether the districts existed in the period 379–335 is uncertain; see Knoepfler 2000, p. 359 and Müller 2011, pp. 263–266.

50 Roesch 1965b, pp. 126–133; cf. Roesch 1982, pp. 266–282, 369–370. Cf. Livy 33.2.6.

51 So Müller 2011, p. 269.

52 *IG* VII 2723, 2724, 2724a–d, 1795, 3207, 1672, 1673.

53 Knoepfler 2000, 2001a.

collective dedications complicated defection, implicitly securing the commitment and participation of every individual and community in the dedicatory act. Religious ritual did the vital work of simultaneously protecting the integrity of individual member poleis and of the koinon as a whole in a way that few if any other social strategies could.

I have argued that Boeotian communities were given economic incentives to participate in the koinon, which had the effect of promoting a kind of integrated regional economy, and in the Hellenistic period we find evidence to suggest that the koinon evolved as an instrument for the protection of that regional economy. This is the important and very difficult second-century decree of Chorsiai bestowing proxeny on one Kapon, son of Brochas.[54] Kapon was thus honored because (ll. 4–6) "there being a grain shortage throughout [Boeot]ia, and all the poleis having voted against the export of grain, he made an advance to the polis of two hundred *kophinoi* and he brought the grain to the polis." My interest in the document centers on what it reveals about the background conditions in which Kapon made his advance of grain to Chorsiai. Are we to detect an action of the koinon in the report that "all the poleis had voted against the export of grain"? Paul Roesch advanced this view in 1973, but it has been unanimously rejected, primarily on the grounds that the decree probably postdates the dissolution of the koinon in 171, as both Denis Knoepfler and Christel Müller have recently shown.[55] Leopold Migeotte has suggested that the phrase "all the poleis voted" points to individual votes by individual cities, but this would require a degree of voluntary coordination or pure coincidence that I find highly unlikely.[56]

I believe the late date for the Kapon decree is correct, but I nevertheless think there are several reasons for detecting the hand of the koinon in the embargo on the export of grain. The first is the plentiful evidence for a massive grain shortage in central Greece in the period circa 180–175, attested by decrees from Oropos, Chalkis, Thespiai, Athens, and Thessaly.[57] This provides a likely historical

54 Roesch 1965a (*SEG* XXII 410; Migeotte 1984, no. 10).

55 Roesch 1973, with critical responses from F. Gschnitzer and H. Müller appended to the paper; Robert in *BE* (1974) 266, likewise rejects Roesch's proposal that the koinon was involved. Date post 171: Roesch 1965a; Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, p. 209 n. 705, p. 244 n. 908; Knoepfler 1999, p. 242; Müller 2005, pp. 100–104.

56 Migeotte 1984, p. 83.

57 Oropos: Petrakos 1997, no. 210 (*IG* VII 4262), for citizens of Tyre and Sidon. The document is dated by the federal archon Agathokles, whose magistracy is placed ca. 180 by Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 318, 350. Euboean Chalkis, for a citizen of Sidon: *IG* XII.9 900A, with Knoepfler 1990, pp. 490–491. Thespiai: *I.Thespiai* 41 (*IG* VII 1719, 1744, plus three

context for a "grain shortage throughout [Boeot]ia," recorded in a decree that certainly belongs sometime in the early second century. The koinon was especially well positioned to respond to crises that affected the entire region. The second is a piece of comparative evidence from the Achaian koinon, which has never been brought to bear on the interpretation of the Kapon decree. This is an honorary decree of Phokian Elateia for the city of Stymphalos, passed in the early 180s.[58] The Elateians had been driven out of their city—whether by the Aitolians or the Romans is unclear—and were taken in by the Stymphalians, who were at the time members of the Achaian koinon. After some time, the Stymphalians successfully canvassed Manius Acilius Glabrio, the Roman consul of 191, for permission for the Elateians to return home. But the Elateians had another problem: there was "a prohibition on the export of grain among the Achaians as a result of the critical state of things and the grain shortage," so the Stymphalians sent an embassy to the Achaians, who allowed the Elateians "to take their own grain from the territory of the Stymphalians as a favor" (ll. 15–17). These lines make it clear that the Achaian koinon had issued an embargo on the export of grain from its entire territory in response to a grain shortage, a parallel that strongly supports the proposal that the Boeotian koinon did the same thing a few years later. Indeed, protection of the regional grain supply in times of shortage would have been much more effectively performed by the koinon than by a string of individual poleis. This conclusion does not, I believe, conflict with the proposal that the Kapon decree was inscribed after 171. For the text goes on (ll. 12–17) to record several actions undertaken by Kapon after the advance of grain, and we may have here an honor bestowed in recognition of benefactions performed over a period of several years—the last years, to be precise, of the Boeotian koinon. If this is correct it would suggest that the Boeotian koinon, like the Achaian, took steps during times of crisis to protect the regional economy it had previously promoted.

Conclusion

I have suggested that we can actually gain some ground in understanding how the Boeotian koinon developed if we look beyond the narrow confines of polit-

previously unedited fragments, all belonging to the same stele); cf. Roesch 1965b, pp. 220–224; Migeotte 1985, pp. 314–316; Migeotte 1990; Migeotte 1991. Feyel 1942, p. 45, placed the document in the period 191–172. Athens: *IG* II^2 903 with Gauthier 1982 (*SEG* XXXII 132). Thessaly: Helly 1973, II.41.

58 Thür and Taeuber 1994, pp. 252–260 no. 18.

ical history and consider the wider body of evidence for interpolis interactions, coordination, and cooperation and think clearly about what we might call the internal logic of the koinon. I have tried to sketch a view of the Boeotian koinon as a complex institution that built on a sense of group identity to create a polity that overcame many of the limitations of the independent polis, including costly exchange, tight constraints on resources, and limited military strength. Creating such a common polity, however, posed serious political challenges of its own, requiring coordination among frequently hostile poleis and a means of distributing power among participants in an acceptable, if not a perfectly equitable, fashion. Religious ritual was a powerful tool in overcoming the challenges associated with the politicization of Boeotian identity, in legitimating the koinon as a polity, and in preserving its distinctive and extremely fragile internal structure over time. Economic incentives must also have contributed to the willingness of poleis to become members. The incentives offered evolved over time as the economic logic of federation—the pooling and equitable distribution of resources and the facilitation of regional exchange and mobility—became ever more apparent. Sustaining such a delicate system required, however, restraint on all sides and a kind of self-enforcement of the terms of the federal bargain, a demand that was occasionally too heavy for the ambitious Thebans.

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ΕΧΘΟΝΔΕ ΤΑΣ ΒΟΙΩΤΙΑΣ
The Expansion of the Boeotian *Koinon* towards Central Euboia in the Early Third Century BC[1]

Denis Knoepfler

Τὰς στροτείας ἐχθόνδε τᾶς Βοιωτίας: "the expeditions conducted outside of Boeotia": this somewhat unexpected expression is attested no fewer than three times in a well known Orchomenian inscription, the cavalry *homologa*, an agreement made in the beginning of the 3rd century BC between the horsemen (*hippotai*) of Orchomenos and those of Chaironeia. Published first in the late 1970s by the French historians Roland Etienne and Paul Roesch,[2] the document has added much to our knowledge of Hellenistic Boeotia. One thing, however—perhaps the most interesting of all—was not immediately clear to the editors and their readers. In 1997,[3] twenty years after the *editio princeps*, I argued, as Thomas Corsten independently did a little bit later in his book on the political organization of some important Greek federal states,[4] that such a military agreement is probably not to be understood as an isolated decision of two neighboring cities but should rather be put within the framework of a wider political system. It necessarily implies the subdivision of Boeotian land into territorial units or districts (*tele*), whose existence in the Hellenistic period had previously been expressly denied.[5] In contrast to the better known eleven *mere* (μέρη) of the Classical period there were only seven districts at that time. This subdivision may—and, I think, must—explain why Hellenistic Boeotian committees of federal magistrates are always composed of seven members, each of them representing one unit, except for short periods of time when their number was

1 I am most grateful to my old friend François Rytz in Neuchâtel (Switzerland) and to my dear colleague Nikolaos Papazarkadas and his editing staff at Berkeley for having greatly improved my English text.

2 Etienne and Roesch 1978, pp. 359–374 (*SEG* XXVIII 461). Lines 7–27 have been reedited, with a translation in English and a linguistic commentary by Colvin 2007, no 14; cf. *BE* (2009) 253 (*SEG* LVII 444) for a new reading of ll. 17–18 and a new interpretation of ll. 9–11.

3 Knoepfler 2000, pp. 345–366. For a comparison of this work with the book of Corsten 1999, see P. Gauthier, *BE* (2001) 109 and 224; cf. also *BE* (2004) 182.

4 Corsten 1999, pp. 38–47.

5 So, for instance, by Roesch 1965, pp. 103 ff.

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increased by one because of the inclusion in the *koinon* of some important non-Boeotian city such as Locrian Opous, the city of Megara, or Chalcis and Eretria in Euboea.

I

My purpose in this paper is not to return to this important topic, addressed in a recent article by my colleague and friend Professor Christel Muller.[6] Instead I would like to cross the borders of Boeotia, going ἐχθόνδε τᾶς Βοιωτίας, in order to clarify the Euboean side of Boeotian foreign policy at the time of the horsemen's *homologa*. It was not a trivial accord, for the Boeotian *hippotai* themselves had to make mounted patrols, if not war, outside of the ethnic border-line. The agreement was concluded under the archonship of Thiogneitidas in the city of Orchomenos, and under that of Philokomos in the Boeotian Confederacy. It is worth noting that there had been some *stroteiai*, "expeditions", already in the previous year. The sentence in lines 9–11, τὰς μὲν προτεινὶ στροτειίας Θιογνειτίδαο ἄρχοντος Ἐρχομενίοις, Βοιωτοῖς δὲ Φιλοκώμω, does not mean, as most editors and commentators have thought,[7] "the previous expeditions (made) under Thiogneitidas and Philokomos". Note that there is no preposition ἐπί before the names of the archons, so in my opinion the phrase clearly designates "the expeditions made before (προτεινί) the archonship of Thiogneitidas and Philokomos", i.e. the year of the agreement. Fortunately, the approximate dating of Philokomos' federal archonship is not too difficult a task. Indeed, more than a century ago Wilhelm Dittenberger was able to affirm a date around 285—no earlier, in any case, than the beginning of the 3rd century BC—on the basis of two documents referring to him as a federal archon: a list of conscripts from Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3175) and a dedication of a tripod from the sanctuary of Apollo *Ptoieus* near Akraiphia (*IG* VII 2373).[8] The cavalry inscription has furnished still more conclusive evidence in favor of this dating, for we are told that within Boeotia (ἐν τ�ᾶ Βοιωτίᾳ) the squadrons of horsemen, *wilai*, had to execute some patrols, first around Thebes and then (or "second") around

6 Müller 2011, pp. 261–282, with my observations in *BE* (2012) p. 570.

7 So Colvin 2007, no. 14, and Müller 2011, pp. 269–270, too, following the translation of the first editors.

8 See Dittenberger ad *IG* VII 2723 (cf. Feyel 1942, pp. 28–29). On this very point, the editor disagreed with Holleaux 1889, pp. 1 ff., who had reasonably enough proposed to date Philokomos to the same period as the three further federal eponyms linked with him, i.e., to 312–304 BC: see *infra* for the basis of Holleaux's chronology.

Oropos.[9] It seems reasonably certain that the goal of these campaigns was not to attack the two cities, but instead to protect them against the eventual pretensions of their former masters, the Macedonians in the case of Thebes and the Athenians in that of Oropos. In both cities, moreover, a faction opposed to the union with the Boeotian *koinon* could have existed.

For a very long time after the refoundation of their *polis* by Cassander in 315, the Thebans had remained disorganized and outside of the Boeotian state, as we shall see in more detail. Only after having regained their *politeia*—that is to say their political liberty—from Demetrios Poliorketes, when he was expelled from Macedonia by Lysimachos and Pyrrhos (287 BC), did the Thebans actually succeed in integrating again into the *koinon*. Contra the *opinio communis*, this had not actually happened around 309.[10] The inhabitants of Oropos, on the other hand, had lost their independence in 304,[11] when Demetrios gave Oropos back to the Athenians after his victory over Cassander's army near the straits of Euripus. To be sure, given the present state of our knowledge, the Oropians might have liberated themselves as early as 295, when Demetrios put Athens again under his domination (295–287). In any case, Menedemos' embassy πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπὲρ Ὠρωποῦ—as Diogenes Laertios writes in his biography of the Eretrian philosopher and statesman, quoting an ancient authority (2.141)—cannot be placed as early as 304. The integration of Oropos into the Boeotian *koinon* could hardly have succeeded before the turning point of 287. We can now establish, as shown elsewhere,[12] an interesting chronological relationship between this event and a well-known, albeit incorrectly dated, Oropian decree concerning the construction of the city walls proposed by Lysandros, who was to serve as a *boiotarches* at the time of the Gallic invasion of 279.[13] There we are told that by completing that very expensive enterprise the Oropians would be useful (χρήσιμοι) not only to themselves (αὐτοί τε αὑτοῖς) but also to the Boeotian *koinon*. So we have excellent reasons to conclude that Philokomos assumed

9 So Etienne and Roesch 1978, p. 365; cf. Roesch 1982a, p. 439: "Il convient donc de dater l'archonte Philokomos et par conséquent la convention des cavaliers d'Orchomène des années qui ont immédiatement suivi le retour simultané de Thèbes et d'Oropos au sein de la Confédération, c'est à dire des années entre 287 et 285 environ".

10 Against this opinion, see Knoepfler 2001b, pp. 11–25.

11 This fact is indirectly proved by the Athenian decree *ISE* 8 (for which see now Papazarkadas 2011, p. 104 and n. 21; Knoepfler 2010a, p. 447); cf. Robert 1960, pp. 300–301. It is however no longer possible to link this event with the embassy of Menedemos of Eretria to Demetrios Poliorketes: see Knoepfler 1991, p. 197 n. 74.

12 Knoepfler 2002, pp. 119–155; cf. P. Gauthier, *BE* (2002) 332; *SEG* XLII 505 and 506 bis-ter.

13 *IG* VII 4263; *Syll.*[3] 544; Maier 1959, no. 26; Migeotte 1984, no. 9; Petrakos 1997, no. 303.

the federal archonship not long after 287. We shall now try and find the most suitable year.

First, however, we must understand what kind of strategic needs could have motivated Boeotian cavalry to operate outside of Boeotia. We would of course be in a better position to answer this question if the Orchomenian stone had not broken just after the words ἐχθόνδε τᾶς Βοιωτίας (l. 38), which introduced the report of the detailed services of the four squadrons of horsemen, or *wilai*, outside the borders of Boeotia. We consequently miss any reference to a foreign country or city as the theater of their military operations. But we may still evoke some possibilities, or impossibilities. It would be unwise, in my opinion, to believe that the Boeotian federal *collegium* of seven *hipparchoi* would have dispatched the cavalry units to more than one wide region.

So we may exclude an attack in the Megarid, Phokis, or even East Lokris (where the Boeotian cavalry was nevertheless active on other occasions, e.g. around 227 BC in the neighborhood of Larymna, according to Polybius' famous excursus on Boeotian affairs).[14] Attica itself can hardly have been an appropriate zone of intervention for the Boeotian army after the conflict provoked by the secession of Oropos from Athens. Moreover, we must keep in mind that in those years the Attic borders were still controlled by Macedonian garrisons, particularly at Rhamnous, Phyle and Panakton, so that any Boeotian incursion into Attica in order to help the Athenians against Demetrios would have been easily repelled.[15] The fact that Oropos was, along with Thebes, the principal battleground in Boeotia itself seems to be a sufficient reason to think that the region of Euboea bordering the Oropian territory was precisely the main objective of the horsemen's activity outside of Boeotia, though we should not discount the possibility of secondary objectives. The straits of Euripus did not constitute an insuperable obstacle to a Boeotian military intervention in the central part of the neighboring island. From Oropos, or from any other harbor on the Boeotian coast, ships could easily transport horsemen to Eretria. Recall

14 Polyb. 20.5.7–11. Feyel's interpretation of this episode (Feyel 1942, pp. 117–119) has been adopted by Walbank 1957–1979, ad loc. For another view, see Etienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 335–336.

15 As a matter of fact, most of the Attic fortresses remained under Macedonian domination even after the liberation of the city in 287: see Habicht 1997, pp. 124–130. See the updated edition of Habicht's monograph (2006, p. 427 n. 38) on an unpublished Rhamnousian decree which shows, in my view, that this fortress was commanded ca. 294–292 by the general (στρατηγός) Adeimantos, a *philos* of King Demetrios, perhaps the same man as the famous Adeimantos of Lampsakos, who could have become an Athenian citizen by a decree of *politeia*: see Knoepfler 2001a, p. 220 n. 752 and 2010–2011, pp. 442–444.

for instance the Athenian expedition of 348 BC when *hippeis*, after embarking at Piraeus, came to land on the shore of the Lelantine Plain, specifically at Argoura opposite Delion (in the immediate vicinity of the now famous prehistoric site of Lefkandi, situated between Eretria and Chalcis).[16] So, the problem is more of a political than a logistical nature: What could possibly have made the Boeotians send their cavalry to Euboea in the early 3rd century? Is there any evidence of a relationship between the *koinon* and the two main Euboean cities at that time?

II

At first sight, the answer seems to be decidedly no, for it is usually claimed that Euboea remained under continuous Macedonian domination in the 3rd century, even after Demetrios' collapse in Asia Minor in 286 BC.[17] On the other hand, there was until very recently a kind of unanimity amongst scholars in believing that the integration of both Chalcis and Eretria into the Boeotian federal state belongs to a slightly earlier period of Euboean history, that is to say the very end of the fourth century, between 308 and 304 BC. This *opinio communis*, however, does not rest on the main narrative of Diodorus for these years.[18] Instead, it was a set of inscriptions that allowed the French epigraphist Maurice Holleaux to come to this conclusion more than a century ago. Holleaux's elegant paper of the year 1897 was republished, with some additions, in 1938 by his student Louis Robert as the second chapter of volume I of *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*,[19] immediately after Holleaux's famous memoir on the

16 The approximate location of Argoura, first put forward by Knoepfler 1981, pp. 289–329, has now been accepted by Bugh 2011, pp. 275–295, esp. 279, although Bugh disagrees on other points of my understanding of the sources.

17 So, for instance, Wallace 1956, pp. 27–29, or Picard 1979, pp. 263–271 (no revolt against Macedonian power before 274), with the older bibliography.

18 See *infra* p. 76 and n. 33, on Diod. Sic. 20.100.5–6.

19 Holleaux 1897, pp. 157–189 = 1938 (1968), pp. 41–73. See Robert 1939, pp. 23–24 = 1974, pp. 1688–1689 for a quite laudatory summary of this paper: "Une inscription d'Érétrie mentionnait une fête à l'occasion du départ d'une garnison étrangère et de l'indépendance recouvrée: la date en était fixée par les uns à 196 ou 194 avant notre ère, par d'autres à 312: naturellement divergence complète sur l'identité des garnisaires. Holleaux veut rendre compte d'un détail, négligé par les les commentateurs, dans le bref intitulé du décret: les magistrats qui proposent le décret portent le titre de polémarques; il montre (…) que les polémarques n'ont existé que pendant un temps assez court à Érétrie et que l'introduction de cette magistrature doit être expliquée par des circonstances très particulières; or les polémarques sont des magistrats béotiens (…); il en tire ce fait historique

reconstruction of Thebes.[20] Despite its unpretentious title, the "Note sur une inscription d'Érétrie" is in reality a very sophisticated piece of scholarship, a *chef-d'oeuvre* of rigorous erudition and rhetorical skill, probably not easy for foreign readers to understand today, nor even, I am afraid, for young francophone scholars. In any case, in a most recent and not uninteresting book on late Hellenistic civic cults,[21] Holleaux's argument proved to be a Gordian knot that Nadine Deshours, the author of the aforesaid book, was unable to untie.

The point of departure is apparently—for there was certainly a more fundamental motivation in Holleaux's mind, as we shall see immediately—a lost decreee which had been discovered by the famous Italian traveller Cyriacus of Ancona more than half a millenium earlier at Eretria, in the vicinity of a ruined temple of Dionysos ("in agro vinearum, ubi templum Bacchi collapsum vetustate conspicitur").[22] Known only from a very poor copy, this Eretrian document of (probably) a dozen preserved lines had not been much studied until Holleaux's article, even though some of the greatest *archegetai* of our discipline, including August Boeckh, Ulrich von Wilamowitz, Wilhelm Dittenberger and Adolf Wilhelm, had expressed their views on its dating and significance. The decree was in fact enacted following a quite extraordinary event: the city's garrison had left (ἥ τε φρου⟨ρ⟩ὰ ἀπῆλθεν) and the people were thus suddenly liberated from foreign military occupation (ὅ τε δῆμος ἠλευθερώθη), just at the moment when Eretrians were engaged in a procession for Dionysos (τῆι πομπῆι τῆι Διονύσου). The city was thus able to recover, on the same day, its democratic regime (τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκομίσατο) and its traditional laws (κα[ὶ τοὺς π]α⟨τρ⟩ίους ⟨νό⟩μους, which must be the correct reading of the letters copied here by Cyriacus).[23] Thereafter, in order to have a day of

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nouveau qu'Érétrie a fait un temps partie de la Confédération Béotienne" (see *infra* n. 31 for the conclusion by Holleaux himself).

20 Based on the list *IG* VII 2419 (now more complete after the discovery of a new fragment just published by Professor K. Buraselis in *ZPE* 188 (2014) pp. 159–170).

21 Deshours 2011 (cf. *infra* n. 27).

22 *IG* XII.9 192. Cyriacus' copy had been published first by Moroni ca. 1666, p. 36 no 240, and later (on the basis of this edition, according to Bodnar 1960, pp. 29 ff. and 82 ff.) by Muratori 1739, I, no. cxlv. For the dating of Cyriacus' trip to Eretria on April 3rd, rather than 5th, 1436, see Colin 1981, p. 562; Pajor 2006, pp. 53–55, with a reproduction of an extract of the Renaissance manuscript of G. and Fr. de Sangallo, which, however, does not contain the decree itself.

23 Cyriacus' copy gives the letters K … . .ΤΟΥΣΥΜΝΟΥΣ, which are enigmatic (cf. Holleaux 1938, I, p. 41 n. 1). Accounting for the difficulties which the decipherment of the stone must

commemoration (ὑπόμνημα) of the miraculous liberation, the Eretrians decided to establish a *stephanephoria* for all the inhabitants of the city on the occasion of the *Dionysia*.[24] The further details of this arrangement elude us because the stone was either damaged or broken at that point.

According to Boeckh,[25] the Eretrian decree was to be dated to the end of the Second Macedonian War: the *phroura* had to be identified either with the Macedonian garrison that left the acropolis of Eretria in 196, or with the Roman garrison that similarly left the Eretrian acropolis in 194 BC. It was not a difficult task for Holleaux to show that this historical exegesis was hardly acceptable, since the liberation of the city in that period was never followed by the restoration of *demokratia*. In fact, this very strong objection to Boeckh's hypothesis had already been made by Wilamowitz,[26] who was himself inclined to place the decree much earlier, around 312 BC, when Eretria was allegedly liberated from Cassander's domination by Polemaios, the nephew and general of Antigonos the One-Eyed. Holleaux agreed with the celebrated philologist on one point

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have presented for this traveler, the reading proposed already in 1883 by Dittenberger, *Syll.* 201 = *Syll.*[2] 277 (published in 1879) = *Syll.*[3] 323 (published in 1915), and reproduced by E. Ziebarth in 1915 (*IG* XII.9 192), is certainly not too bold, in my opinion. Even professional epigraphists can commit similar errors: in exactly this way, the word NOMOYΣ was first read as ΔΟΥΛΟΥΣ in the decree of Elateia found at Stymphalos, Moretti, *ISE* I, 55, l. 13: cf. Klaffenbach 1968, pp. 257–259. In any case, it seems impossible to preserve the letters ΥΜΝΟΥΣ unchanged: Sokolowski's suggestion (1962, no. 46), κ[αὶ μετ]ὰ τοὺς ὕμνους, is "incompréhensible" (J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1964) 406) and clearly "impossible syntaxiquement" (Jaccottet-Muller 1990, p. 150 n. 1), and the older one, κ[ατ]ὰ τοὺς ὕμνους (Boeckh) is not really better, *pace* T. Reinach, *REG* 13 (1900) p. 201 ("Il s'agit d'oracles qui avaient annoncé la délivrance du peuple d'Erétrie"), despite the support given by Merkelbach 1967, p. 79, and more recently by Lewis 1990, pp. 198–199. *SEG* XL 758 reproduces this traditional text without knowledge of other corrections to it (see below).

24 For similar decisions in the Hellenistic world, cf. Robert 1933, pp. 522–523 = Robert 1969, I, pp. 490–491, with the Eretrian example; supplements in Hamon 2004, p. 179 with n. 39. For the date of the *Dionysia* (*Lenaion*), cf. *infra* p. 86.

25 Boeckh 1843, no. 2144: "Decretum hoc videtur ad res Olymp. 145, 4 gestas pertinere, et ad deducta vel Macedonum vel Romanorum praesidia (Polyb. XXVIII, 28–30)."

26 von Wilamowitz 1881, p. 101 n. 1, who was immediately followed by Wilhelm 1892, pp. 129–130 no. 1 = 1984, p. 87, by Dittenberger, *Syll.*[1] (1883) 201 = *Syll.*[2] (1897) 277, and by Holleaux himself in his paper on the reconstruction of Thebes (1897, p. 161 = 1938, p. 44 n. 3). See also Droysen, 1884, p. 338 n. 1 (not yet in the 2nd German ed., Gotha, 1878): "Peut-être est-ce à cette entrée de Ptolémée dans Érétrie que fait allusion Diogène Laërce (II § 140) et l'inscription de *C.I.Graec.* (I [*sic*], 2144)", without any reference to Wilamowitz's 1881 *Antigonos von Karystos*, or to Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* of 1883.

at least: both were convinced—rightly, I think, as we shall see below—that Αἰσχύλος Ἀνταν̣δρίδου, the second of the three magistrates who proposed the decree, should be identified with the *Aischylos* who was a political opponent of Menedemos of Eretria according to the biographer Diogenes Laertios (2.141). Yet, the French historian was absolutely right, in my opinion, to dismiss Wilamowitz's precise dating of the decree, for Diodorus says most clearly that at the time of Polemaios' expedition to Euboea, Chalcis was the only city on the island that had been garrisoned by Cassander's troops: Χαλκιδεῖς οἵπερ μόνοι τῶν Εὐβοέων ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐφρουροῦντο (Diod. Sic. 19.77.4). Therefore, the *phroura* mentioned in the Eretrian decree cannot possibly be the garrison that left the city upon the arrival of Polemaios' army. So, despite the considerable progress made by Wilamowitz with regard to the chronological aspects of the decree, his dating has no more historical value than that of Boeckh: instead of being accepted as viable alternatives to Holleaux's exegesis—as they still are today by some scholars[27]—both proposals must be definitively rejected.

III

Indeed, Holleaux brought to light one aspect of the inscription that had been strangely overlooked until then: because of his knowledge of Boeotian epigraphy, the excavator at the Ptoion could not read with indifference the very unusual motion formula of the Eretrian decree, which has as proposers three *polemarchoi* (each of them designated by his name and patronym)—that is to say a typical board of magistrates in the cities of Hellenistic Boeotia[28]—instead

27 Dehours 2011, p. 35 (cf. p. 55) has generously left open to the reader the choice between three chronological possibilities (apparently all of the same value): "313 (Wilamowitz), ou 308 (Holleaux) ou 196–194 (Boeckh)". Dehours quotes Sokolowski, *LSCG* 46, and the more recent papers of Jaccottet 1990 and Lewis 1990 (cf. *supra* n. 23), both closely dependent on Sokolowski's edition and commentary (on which *see infra* n. 41). It is thus clear enough that Dehours did not judge it indispensable to have personal knowledge of Holleaux's demonstration, for the choice which she offers following Sokolowski no longer existed after 1897.

28 For the existence of such a board of *polemarchoi*, Holleaux 1938, pp. 56–57, could cite a paper of Foucart (1880, pp. 86–87). See the essential work of Busolt and Swoboda 1926, p. 1439 ff., with footnotes (the decree of Eretria at p. 1441 n. 3); cf. H. Schaefer, *RE* Suppl. VIII (1956), col. 1097 ff.; Roesch 1965, pp. 162 ff. (cf. p. 67 n. 2 for Eretria); more recently Fröhlich 2008, pp. 39 ff. This board of three *polemarchoi* must be strictly distinguished from the regular magistrature of a single *polemarchos*, attested in Eretria at different periods: see Holleaux 1938, p. 54, and now, in light of a new document, Knoepfler and Ackermann 2012.

of an unspecified number of anonymous *probouloi* (very often, but not always, associated with *strategoi*), as in most of the other decrees enacted by Eretria at all times.[29] Holleaux, it is true, did not know more than a dozen decrees of this type, but the enlarged collection we have today has confirmed the very peculiar character of the inscription copied by Cyriacus.[30] To explain this peculiarity, Holleaux had only one means available, namely the hypothesis that the Eretrians had been allowed for some time to join the Boeotian *koinon*. But when? In Holleaux's mind, the answer to this problem had been made much easier by the fact that he himself was "lucky enough" (his own words) to have discovered in the Ptoion, some years before (in the spring of 1885),[31] an inscription proving without any doubt that the city of Chalcis was a member of the Boeotian *koinon* at that time. It is a public dedication of a tripod made to Apollo by a federal committee on which a citizen of Chalcis, Peiripolis son of Mikulos (Πειρίπολις Μικύλου Χαλκιδεύς),[32] sat among the eight (rather than seven) *aphedriateuontes* of the year.

For the young French archaeologist the discovery of this document was, we might guess, a kind of divine revelation. It became immediately evident in his mind that the dedication must be related to a well-known event of Hellenistic history: according to Diodorus[33] there was a Boeotian garrison at Chalcis when, in 304 BC, Demetrios Poliorketes succeeded in taking the city by force, constraining the Boeotian *koinon* to abandon Cassander's alliance. So, in publishing the new inscription from the Ptoion (still many years before studying

29 Holleaux's list (1938, pp. 46 ff.) was completed by L. Robert (ibid. p. 49 n. 3), whence Ruzé 1974, pp. 460–461. For further supplements see below.

30 Cf. Knoepfler 2001a, p. 115 n. 55, and 278 n. 35 (on Ruzé's list). Since 2001 scholars have known a new Eretrian decree proposed by the *probouloi* (without the *strategoi*): ibid., pp. 273 ff. no. 15 (*SEG* XLIX 1188), whose dating to the mid-3rd century (ca. 260 BC) has not been challenged up to now except by Oliver 2003, pp. 453–458, who made a strong case in favor of the last years of the 4th century. But this interesting suggestion cannot possibly be accepted: cf. Knoepfler 2012, pp. 117–137.

31 Holleaux 1938, p. 60: "L'assertion de l'historien (*scil.* Diodorus) s'est trouvée pleinement confirmée par une découverte épigraphique que j'ai faite en 1885: dans les ruines du Ptoion je fus assez heureux pour retrouver une dédicace des ἀφεδριατεύοντες béotiens, qui remonte aux dernières années du IVe siècle; or, parmi ces délégués officiels du Κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν se trouve un Chalcidien."

32 This most unusual name should probably be explained as a rhotacised form of Πεισίπολις: cf. Knoepfler 1981, p. 317 n. 116; Marchand 2011, p. 364.

33 Diod. Sic. 20.100.5–6 (for the year 304): (Δημήτριος) πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Χαλκιδέων πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν.

and explaining the Eretrian decree),[34] Holleaux had expressed the opinion that Chalcis belonged to Boeotia in the years preceding the turning point of 304 BC. It is therefore perfectly understandable that Holleaux did not have much hesitation in determining the period when Eretria was integrated into the Boeotian *koinon*: obviously both cities must have had the same destiny. The dating of its entry to 309 or 308 seemed to him even more certain because of the testimony of an Athenian decree proposed by the celebrated Stratokles of Diomeia,[35] honoring, in 305, the officer who commanded the garrison of the Euripus fortress under Polemaios' authority. Indeed, according to this document,[36] Polemaios' garrison (*phroura*) at Chalcis left the city without a fight after receiving news of his death at Kos. What happened in Chalcis, Holleaux believed, should perforce have occurred in Eretria in the same historical context. This is Holleaux's most elegant conclusion, which has met with general approval, something which is not very common in our field. Not only Dittenberger, Hiller von Gaertringen, Beloch, Ziebarth and Swoboda (as noted by Louis Robert in the reprint of Holleaux's papers) but also Niese, Wilhelm, Bechtel, Colin, Nilsson, Kourouniotis, Tarn, Pappadakis, Feyel and many other great scholars adopted it at one point or another.[37] More recently, Holleaux has been followed by almost every specialist of Boeotian or Euboean history, including William P. Wallace, Paul Roesch, Brigitte Gullath, Olivier Picard, Simon Bakhuizen, Vassilios Petrakos, Stephanos Koumanoudis, Kostas Buraselis,[38] and myself (at least at

34 Holleaux 1889, pp. 1–23 (not reprinted in the *Études*: cf. L. Robert, ibid. I, pp. iii–iv), in particular p. 19 for this document (= *IG* VII 2724b); the stone seems to be lost, but there is a squeeze at the French School in Athens (cf. Jacquemin 1981, pp. 73–81).

35 On this orator, active in the period 307–301, see Habicht 1997, pp. 71–73 (= 2006, p. 90, with nn. 14–16 for the list of his decrees); more recently Muccioli 2008, pp. 108–136; cf. Knoepfler 2010b, pp. 1207–1208.

36 *IG* II² 469 (= *Syll.*³ 328); reproduced by Bakhuizen 1970, p. 128; cf. Gullath 1982, p. 171 n. 3.

37 Niese 1899, pp. 200–211 n. 1 and p. 774 (additional note to vol. I pp. 308–309); Dittenberger, *Syll.*² II (1899), p. 815: Wilhelm 1904, col. 95 = 1984, p. 124; Bechtel 1905, p. 516 no. 5312; Colin 1905, p. 673 (a long corrigendum to pp. 83–84, where Boeckh's dating was adopted without discussion); Nilsson 1906, p. 304; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, in Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 323 (published in 1915); E. Ziebarth, in *IG* XII.9 192 and p. 154 (also 1915); Beloch 1927, pp. 428–429 (cf. already III 2, published in 1905, pp. 355–356); Kourouniotis 1911, p. 28; Tarn 1913, p. 22 n. 26; Swoboda 1913, p. 273 (cf. also Busolt and Swoboda 1926, p. 1433 n. 1); Pappadakis 1915, p. 173: Feyel 1942, pp. 28–29, etc.

38 Wallace 1956, p. 26; Roesch 1965, p. 67; Roesch 1982a, p. 424 and n. 34; Picard 1979, p. 262 and n. 3–5; Bakhuizen 1970, pp. 128–129; Gullath 1982, pp. 171 ff. Petrakos 1961/62, pp. 211 ff.: Buraselis 1982, p. 47 n. 36. For Koumanoudis's position, cf. *infra* n. 48.

the beginning of my epigraphical research). P.J. Rhodes too, with the late David Lewis, accepted Holleaux's chronology in his *Decrees of the Greek States*.[39]

IV

As a matter of fact, for a very long time nobody dared to propose another solution. Some commentators, it is true, have chosen either to say nothing or to adopt a pseudo-scientific neutrality. Francis Sokolowski, for instance, in his 1962 *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* placed the historical interpretations of Wilamowitz and Holleaux at the same level of probability,[40] which is quite misleading since the German scholar had not even suspected the Boeotian connection of the document. Furthermore, Sokolowski's edition of the decree is definitely obsolete.[41] This would have been of little consequence if his edition had been superseded by a better and more accessible text. Unfortunately, that is not yet the case.[42] As a result, because of an unjustified confidence in Sokolowski's edition, many scholars are still unaware that David Lewis and Louis Robert provided important emendations in the 1960s. For instance, if Anne-Françoise Jaccottet and Naphtali Lewis (in two papers both published in 1990)[43] had known that πωληταί (financial magistrates as in Athens) and χῶροι (Eretrian districts) should be read instead of πολῖται and χοροί in the second part of the decree,[44] they would probably not even have thought of writing their rather fanciful contributions on the identification of the ivy of Dionysos, *kittou stephanos*, which the citizens and other residents of Eretria had to put on their heads at the *stephanephoria* of the great liberation-day. However, I do not want to suggest that there is no further place for discussion and progress.

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39 Rhodes and Lewis 1997, p. 247 (where 'Polemaios' must be read instead of 'Cassander') and 249: [*IG* XII.9 192] "is proposed by a priest and the three polemarchs, reflecting Boeotian practice at a time when Eretria is attached to the Boeotian *koinon*".

40 1962, no 46. We have already seen the consequences of this uncritical attitude in the case of Deshours' recent book (*supra* n. 27).

41 Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1964) 406, who immediately expressed the opinion that Sokolowski's edition (1962, 46), in this case at least, "marque un recul fâcheux pour le texte … et pour tout le commentaire: *fumum ex luce dat!*".

42 The reproduction of the text in *SEG* XL 758 cannot possibly be used as an point of reference: cf. *supra* n. 23. For a new text, see the Appendix (pp. 87–90).

43 Jacottet-Muller 1990, pp. 150–156, and Lewis 1990, pp. 197–202. On the epigraphical aspect of these two papers, cf. Knoepfler 2001a, p. 116 n. 55, and *supra* n. 23.

44 Lewis 1962, p. 2 (χώρους instead of χοροὺς at ll. 9–10); J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1964) 406 (πωλητὰς instead of πολίτας at ll. 8–9).

I have myself dealt with this puzzling inscription for almost forty years. In his recent book *Between City and King*, Paschalis Paschidis noted, apropos of the commonly accepted date for Eretrian inclusion in the Boeotian *koinon*, that "Knoepfler promises to disprove it elsewhere".[45] It is true that I have not yet put in print the whole series of reasons that can be given against it, though many elements of the demonstration have been spread throughout my works in the past twenty years.[46] The Berkeley symposium gave me the opportunity to revisit and sum up the results of this scholarly activity. My interest in the question arose, as a matter of fact, just after the discovery of the cavalry-inscription in the theater of Orchomenos. As early as 1973, I was able to examine the stone in the company of the excavator, Dr. Theodoros Spyropoulos, and the director of the French school at Athens, the late Pierre Amandry, who were then preparing their publication of the new choregic inscriptions.[47] As we have already seen, the *homologa* immediately brought definite proof that Philokomos' federal archonship could not have been earlier than ca. 285. Holleaux believed that the federal dedication made in Ptoion under this archon—one of four dedications strongly linked by the presence in each of them of the same diviner (μάντις) from Thespiai, a certain Onymastos son of Nikolaos—belonged in the last decade of the 4th century. The problem therefore was to test Holleaux's dating of the whole series.

In January 1974 I proposed to the late Paul Roesch, in a letter of more than ten pages, to put the three archons Aischr(i)ondas, Triax and Eumelos, who are the federal eponyms associated with Philokomos, in sequence after 287 instead of leaving them in the period 312–304 following Holleaux. My main argument was then—and still is today—that these three archons can hardly be put so early, since there is no evidence that the inhabitants of Thebes had joined the Boeotian *koinon* before 287. It would have been quite astonishing if the Thebans had succeeded so quickly in obtaining not only their ancient place but also the eponymous federal magistracy in close succession: the archons Triax and Aischr(i)ondas are citizens of Thebes, and the latter, Aischrondas son of Thiomnastos, was *aphedriateuon* under the archonship of his countryman.[48]

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45 Paschidis 2008, p. 447 n. 4.

46 See in particular Knoepfler 1991, p. 197 n. 73, and the "tableau chronologique" *in fine* (p. 209); 1992, p. 471 no. 75; 1995, p. 147; 1998, pp. 202–204; 2001a, pp. 116 and 257–258; 2007–2008 (2009), p. 612; cf. also *supra* p. 70 with n. 10 on Thebes.

47 1974, pp. 171–246, with an appendix by D.K.

48 *IG* VII 2714, l. 1 (Aischrondas as an archon: cf. *IG* VII 2860), and 2724a, l. 4 (Aischr(i)ondas as an *aphedriateuon*); cf. Koumanoudis 1979, p. 8 no. 71. See now *LGPN* III.A s.vv. Moreover, there is an interesting link between 2724a (Triax) and 2724 (Eumelos), for the Theban Triax

Moreover, under Triax, there is an *aphedriateuon* from Oropos.[49] This archon therefore cannot possibly belong to the period 304–287, because, as we have seen, Oropos was certainly not a member of the Boeotian *koinon* in those years. In fact, the Oropian *aphedriateuon*, Kratyllos son of Amphidemos, is most probably the same man as the Kratyllos (patronym unknown) who was *teichopoios* around 295–280.[50] I further observed—following other scholars—[51] that if Triax and Eumelos had been eponymous archons of the *koinon* in the years proposed by Holleaux, the number of *aphedriateuontes* would have been eight as under Aischr(i)ondas (when Chalcis at least was included in the *koinon*), not seven as under Philokomos.

In this first stage of research, however, it was not at all my intention to question Holleaux's historical conclusion. I only tried to show that the Ptoion dedication mentioning a Chalcidian could not easily be associated with the decree concerning Eretria, for a span of at least twenty years had to be admitted between the two documents. Thus I started feeling that the history of Chalcis at the beginning of the 3rd century was more complicated than previously suspected. Since then, I have proposed as a working hypothesis (a possibility already taken into account by Dittenberger himself in 1892)[52] that the Chalcidians could have participated a second time in the Boeotian federal state, for instance in the turmoil of Pyrrhus' war against Gonatas. This could better explain, in my opinion, why the Boeotian delegation at the Amphictiony of Delphi had three *hieromnemones* in the year 272, and not two as usual. Needless to say, all my propositions were rejected with much extravagance by Paul Roesch,

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son of Antidoros was an *aphedriateuon* under the federal archonship of the Coronean Eumelos (Koumanoudis 1979, no. 1991) and *LGPN* III.A (2000), s.vv.

49 *IG* VII 2724a, 4: cf. Petrakos 1997, pp. 211 and 503 (date proposed: 287–280).

50 For this very probable identification, which was already made by M. Mitsos in the *editio princeps* of the earlier decree on the fortifications (Petrakos 1997, 302), see now *LGPN* III.B s.vv., and Knoepfler 2002, p. 140 with n. 118, a paper in which I tried to show that the document in question—dated too early by most editors and commentators (for instance, Migeotte 1984, no. 8)—and the later Oropian decree on the same subject (Migeotte 1984, no. 9 = Petrakos 1997, no. 303)—dated much too late by *all* scholars—should in fact be considered as almost contemporary, around 287–280 BC.

51 See in particular Guarducci 1930, p. 327, and Feyel 1942, p. 28: "Triax ne peut appartenir à l'époque 308–304"; cf. more recently Gullath 1982, pp. 51, 53 n. 1.

52 In his comment on *IG* VII 2723: "Nam etsi tam obscura est memoria rerum per tertium a Chr. N. saeculum in Graecia gestarum, ut neutiquam praefracte negari liceat, fieri potuisse *ut Chalcidenses postea iterum per aliquot tempus foederi Boeotum interessent* (emphasis mine; D.K.), tamen etc."

who refused to change even to the slightest his mind about Holleaux's chronology, as any reader of his *Études béotiennes* will easily see for himself or herself.[53]

For my part, I was not at all discouraged by such a poor reception of my juvenile theories. On the problem of the third *hieromnemon* of the Boeotians, there is a paper of mine in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* of 1995, with a further discussion in 1998.[54] On the question of Thebes' reintegration into the *koinon*, I have published more recently a paper in a volume on Hellenistic studies dedicated to the Swiss historian Pierre Ducrey. There I showed that the earliest four dedications by the *aphedriateuontes* must all, without exception, be dated after the year 287.[55] In the meantime the dialectologist Guy Vottéro had come independently to the same conclusion.[56] But what is the consequence of all that for the dating of the Eretrian decree itself? For a long time I was reluctant to challenge the splendid historical achievement of Maurice Holleaux, that great scholar whose memory was so rightfully cherished by my own teacher Louis Robert. Yet I have been gradually convinced that two things must be carefully distinguished in Holleaux's contribution: on the one hand, his proof, on the basis of the presence of the three polemarchs in the decree copied by Cyriacus, that Eretria was actually a Boeotian city at the time of this document; on the other hand, the problem of its dating. On the first point there is no place, I think, for any doubt:[57] I consider Holleaux's results as a κτῆμα ἐς αἰεί. The second point is not so firmly established and is perhaps not of the same importance as the first, despite its indisputable interest for the history of Central Greece. I therefore dared expose my thoughts, *per epistulam* (June 8 1981), to Louis Robert, showing him the various arguments of epigraphical and historical nature in favor of a lower dating than that proposed—apparently on such good grounds—by Holleaux. On June 22 1981, I received from my teacher a letter in which, *inter alia*, this problem was addressed. I translate his answer on this very point: "The beauty of Holleaux's memoir", he wrote, "is the demonstration, drawn solely from the mention of the polemarchs, that the Boeotian Confederacy had annexed both Chalcis and Eretria. The dating of the event is another subject. It would be astonishing, if new texts, almost a century after

53 Roesch 1982a, part four, ch. I, pp. 417–439: "Thèbes et la Confédération béotienne de 335 à 288", in particular 424–427.

54 Knoepfler 1995, pp. 137–159, in particular 147–148; 1998, pp. 197–214, esp. 204–208.

55 Knoepfler 2001b, pp. 11–25, esp. p. 16, with notes 48 and 82.

56 Vottéro 1987, pp. 211–231, in particular 223: cf. Knoepfler 1992, pp. 450–451 no. 75; 1995, p. 147 and n. 50; 2001b, p. 16.

57 The doubt expressed on this point by V. Petrakos at the beginning of his scholarly career was not founded: cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1964) 406.

Holleaux's study, had not brought to light some new data. So", Robert wrote in conclusion, "you do run the risk of being accused of ἀσέβεια, of impiety!".

V

This friendly letter was a great encouragement for me to go further in this direction. As a matter of fact, in 1984 I presented my new chronology of the decree in a chapter (not yet published) of my Sorbonne doctoral thesis *La cité de Ménédème*,[58] in the presence of Louis Robert one year before his death. On that very day I also had the satisfaction of hearing Professor Philippe Gauthier publicly acknowledge that he was personally convinced by my new interpretation. The arguments of a linguistic and prosopographical nature were probably not the most decisive for him and his colleagues. Yet they are not, I think, without some force. Indeed, the decree contains certain forms—if in fact the copy of Cyriacus can be trusted—which would have been surprising if they belonged to the end of the 4th century. For instance, the new aorist εἶπαν for εἶπον (l. 4) is extremely rare before the first decade of the following century; and the accusative plural Ἐρετριεῖς appears for Ἐρετριέας or -ιᾶς (l. 9), which is the correct form until about 300 BC.[59] Quite remarkable too is the appearance of the word ὑπόμνημα (*memorial* or rather, here, *commemoration*) in the formula of disclosure (ll. 7–8: ὅπως ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ᾖι),[60] for this diction does not appear before 304 or even 302 in Attic epigraphy.[61] Consequently the Eretrian inscription can hardly be earlier than the beginning of the third century BC.

Still more important is the prosopography, since we have many new documents concerning the second of the three polemarchs, Aischylos son of Antandrides, who was probably eponymous archon in the 280s or the 270s. He is also known as the proposer of an honorific decree for a foreigner, probably from Rhodes,[62] and most importantly as a *hieromnemon* at Delphi in the year 273,

58 For a detailed summary of the thesis' defense, see Vial 1984, pp. 241–245, especially 242.

59 See Knoepfler 2001a, pp. 115–116 (-αν instead of -ον in the verbal morphology of the Hellenistic period), and pp. 36–37 (-εῖς instead of -έας in the accusative plural of nouns in -εύς in Euboia and elsewhere), with bibliography.

60 The word itself is of course well attested from the Classical period onwards; now, it is the first epigraphic instance quoted by Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. for this particular wording: "IG XII(9). 192. 5; Eretria, IV BC."

61 See Hedrick 1999, pp. 387–439 (pp. 421–422 and 434 on this particular formula).

62 *IG* XII Suppl. 550. For the nationality of the honorand, see Knoepfler 2001a, pp. 257–259:

immediately after the philosopher Menedemos, his *antipoliteuomenos* according to Diogenes Laertios (2.141).[63] A pedestal of a bronze statue, sculpted by Teisikrates of Sikyon, a pupil of Lysippos, voted for him by the Delphians and consecrated in the *agora* of Eretria, was published forty years ago by Vassilis Petrakos. Its inscription gave definitive proof that the Delphic *hieromnemon* Aischylos was actually a son of Antandrides, just like the Eretrian magistrate: Δελφῶν ἡ πόλις | Αἰσχύλον Ἀντανδρίδου ἱερομνημον[ήσαντα] | καὶ εὐεργετήσαντα αὐτὴν κτλ.[64] So the political career of this man could hardly have begun before 300 BC. We therefore have another very strong reason—and not the only one of this kind—[65] for believing that the decree commemorating the liberation of Eretria cannot be earlier than the end of Demetrios Poliorketes' harsh domination over the city.

There are, besides, several other difficulties—never perceived by anyone, to the best of my knowledge—in Holleaux's reconstruction of events, for we are not at all sure of the existence of a garrison in Eretria at the time of Polemaios' presence on the island. It is true that a garrison was put on the Euripus,[66] but

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"Décret proposé par Aischylos"; for his probable archonship about 280–270, Pappadakis 1915, p. 178 and n. 2 (*IG* XII Suppl. 555, l. 54); Knoepfler 2001a, p. 258 and n. 108.

63 This function has long been known from the amphictionic decree *FD* III 2, 205 (*Syll.*³ 416; Flacelière 1937, p. 388 nr. 6), published anew in Lefèvre 2002, 22 (273/2 or, less probably, 272/1: cf. ibid. p. 26). See also Knoepfler 1995, pp. 142–143, and 1998, 201; Lefèvre 1998, p. 61 nr. 22. Sánchez 2001, pp. 291–295, gives—without mentioning Aischylos—an interesting study on the Euboean representation at Delphi in the years 278–260.

64 Petrakos 1961/62, pp. 211–214 and pl. 89–90, with a French summary on p. 269 (cf. *BE* (1964) 408), reedited by the same author 1981–1982, pp. 324–326 and pl. 8 (whence *SEG* XXXII 856, with an arbitrary dating ca. 300 BC). Cf. Knoepfler 2001a, pp. 258–259 and fig. 61 (photography of a squeeze) and already 1988, p. 234, for some minor corrections (*SEG* XXXVIII 874).

65 Indeed, the third polemarch Ἰθαιγένης Αἰσχύλου is known as a citizen of the deme of Styra in the large list *IG* XII.9, 245B 414. Although this identification was unknown to Hiller von Gaertringen in Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 323 (because the name had been erroneously read in the ed. pr. by Kourouniotis 1911; see Ziebarth, ad loc., and Wallace 1947, p. 116 n. 5), it is of great importance and cannot be doubted: cf. *LGPN* I s.vv. Now, the set of catalogues *IG* XII.9, 245–247 (+ unpublished fragments), which contains a reference to the philosopher Menedemos, son of Kleisthenes, belongs clearly to the years 280–270.

66 For this garrison, attested in the decree *IG* II² 469 (= *Syll.*³ 328), see above p. 77, with the n. 36. Bakhuizen 1972, pp. 134–136 (cf. already 1970, pp. 22 and 129), has made very attractive and almost certain the location of this fortress at Karababa Hill on the Boeotian shore of the Euripos; cf. Picard 1979, p. 252, and Knoepfler 1983, p. 48 n. 7. Roesch 1982b, p. 254, is misleading on this point. W. Dittenberger already favored such a solution (*Syll.*¹ 133), but

it was not in the city of Chalcis itself, which had been seized by force, while the Eretrians (and the Carystians), according to Diodorus, had merely made an alliance with Polemaios.[67] Moreover, it is very unlikely that Antigonos' nephew would have interfered with the *politeia* of the Eretrians by favoring a regime other than a democratic one, since the general came to Euboea in order to liberate, not subjugate, its cities.[68] The Athenian decree for the commander of the Euripus fortress does not state that the departure of the garrison gave the Chalcidians the opportunity to recover democracy;[69] they were only liberated from the onus of having foreign troops controlling the passage to and from Boeotia. Nor is there any hint in this document that Chalcis had been annexed to Boeotia after Polemaios' death. On the contrary, I think we may infer from the text that the Chalcidians were not yet occupied by a Boeotian garrison—and were definitely not members of the Boeotian *koinon*—at the time of Cassander's attack against Athens (νῦν ἐπιστρατεύσαντ[ος ἐπὶ τὸν δ|ῆμ]ον τὸν Ἀθηναίων Κασσάνδρ[ου]),[70] for it would really have been nonsense to congratulate in 306/5 an officer of the kings Antigonos and Demetrios who had led the city of Chalcis to fall, finally, into the hands of Cassander's allies! In other words, and despite Holleaux's assertion in the affirmative,[71] this very interesting Attic decree cannot belong to the same political context as the Eretrian inscription dealt with in the present paper.

It has long been my view that the Cyriacus decree was enacted in the aftermath of Demetrios' defeat in Asia Minor in 286.[72] The voluntary departure, perhaps obtained by bribery, of the Macedonian garrison in such a situation is not something unexpected, for the soldiers were mostly mercenaries. On the other hand, it would be only natural to infer that the liberated city recovered at the same time its democratic constitution, since it is well known that

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M. Holleaux could not agree without questioning his own dating and interpretation of the Eretrian decree: cf. 1938, p. 61 n. 1.

67 Diod. Sic. 19.78.3; cf. Knoepfler 2001a, p. 218, with the earlier bibliography in n. 739 (the reference given there to Diodorus' book XIX must be corrected).

68 According to the famous proclamation of Tyre in 315 or 314 (Diod. Sic. 19.61.3–4). See for example Will 1979, pp. 54 ff.; Billows 1990.

69 Indeed, this word—or similar expression refering to the *patrios politeia* of the city of Chalcis—does not appear in *IG* II² 469 (= *Syll.*³ 328).

70 See Habicht 1997, p. 74 and n. 22 = 2006, p. 92 with n. 22 (on p. 423).

71 Holleaux 1938, pp. 70–72. One may observe that here Holleaux quotes the first part of the decree without reproducing the sentence about Antigonos' and Demetrios' political directives (ll. 6–8; κα[τὰ τὴν προα]ίρεσιν τῶν βασιλέων Ἀντιγόνο[υ καὶ Δημητρ]ίου), as if he did not know what to do with that reference.

72 For the general conditions, see Will 1979, pp. 96 ff.

Demetrios had imposed oligarchic or tyrannical governments everywhere.[73] For Eretria itself, it is sufficient to read Menedemos' life by Diogenes Laertios. It is true that this well documented biography does not state that the Eretrians seceded from Demetrios, as the Athenians did in the summer of 287.[74] Yet the mission of Menedemos as ambassador to obtain help from the kings Lysimachos and Ptolemaios is a sufficient indication that Eretria did become a free city at that point or shortly afterwards.[75] It is worth noting that Holleaux himself did not exclude the years after 287 for the Eretrian decree,[76] but he quickly put this alternative aside as unlikely because of the fact that in 278, or rather 277, the Eretrian decree in honor of Antigonos Gonatas following his victory over the Gauls was proposed by the *probouloi* and the *strategoi*, rather than the *polemarchoi*.[77] But this is a strangely weak argument, since the inclusion of Eretria in the Boeotian *koinon* was after all a temporary affair, lasting just five years in Holleaux's own chronology. Thus there is no difficulty in dating our decree to this most suitable context.

VI

We may now, in conclusion, return to the Orchomenian *homologa* inscription. As we have seen, there were expeditions outside of Boeotia in the federal archonship of Philokomos. At that time, or at least at the beginning of the year, no significant foreign city had been incorporated into the Boeotian federal state, since the board of the *aphedriateuontes* still consisted of its regular seven members rather than eight. Now Philokomos' archonship is necessarily one year later than 287 (the famous turning point of Hellenistic Boeotian history), for the *stroteiai* carried out by the cavalry had already begun in the previous year, according to my own interpretation of the diction of the inscription.[78] On the other hand, Eretria's liberation from Demetrios' garrison can hardly have

73 See especially Habicht 1979, pp. 22–44.

74 I maintain this date (advocated in particular by C. Habicht and M. Osborne) against old and new tentative attempts at downdating the revolt of Athens to the spring of 286: cf. Knoepfler 2010–2011 (2012), pp. 442 ff.

75 Diog. Laert. 2.140: see the comment in Knoepfler 1991, p. 197 n. 69 and 70. *Contra* Picard 1979, pp. 267 ff., and 1998, pp. 192 ff.; but cf. Knoepfler 1998, pp. 203 ff.

76 1938, pp. 68–69: "Peut-être sera-t-on tenté de reconnaître dans la *phroura* dont parle le décret les troupes de Démétrios évacuant la ville en 287".

77 Diog. Laert. 2.142: cf. Knoepfler 2001a, pp. 390 ff. (appendix 2).

78 See above p. 69 for this interpretation and n. 7 for the followers of the *opinio communis*.

been achieved before the winter of 286/5, when the news of Demetrios' defeat and capture by king Seleukos reached Greece.[79] As a matter of fact, the most likely dating is the beginning of 285, since we know from another inscription that the festival of the *Dionysia*, which was the setting for the Eretrians' liberation, took place on the twelfth day of the month *Lenaion*, which in the Euboean and more generally Ionian calendar roughly corresponds to February.[80] So we might infer that the Boeotians sent their first mounted patrols outside of Boeotia, ἐχθόνδε τᾶς Βοιωτίας, only afterwards, in order to persuade the much isolated Eretrians to join the *koinon*, just like the Oropians, their "relatives" and closest neighbors, had done earlier. But I would not exclude the possibility that these *stroteiai* into Central Euboia had already started in the course of the previous year, if their scope was merely to encourage the inhabitants of Chalcis and Eretria to prepare their liberation in turn. Philokomos' archonship can therefore belong either to 286 or to 285, but not, in my opinion, to 287.[81]

In any case, we now have, I think, every reason to believe that Eretria—if not Chalcis, which was under much firmer Macedonian control—[82] became a Boeotian city at that time. This new state of affairs lasted only a few years, five or six at the maximum,[83] probably until the eve of the Gallic invasion of Macedonia (281–280), when most cities of Greece—*omnes ferme Graeciae civitates* in the words of Justinus, the abbreviator of Pompeius Trogus—[84] were drawn into a new (and final) 'Sacred War'. This period of integration into

79 Demetrios' reddition to Seleukos (cf. Plut. *Vit. Demetr*. 49–50) took place at the beginning of 285 according to Beloch 1927, p. 107. The downdating to 284 proposed more recently by Shear 1978, p. 286 n. 3, cannot be accepted, as demonstrated by both Habicht and Osborne (cf. *supra* n. 74).

80 Knoepfler 1989, pp. 23–58, in particular pp. 41 ff.; cf. Trümpy 1997, pp. 39 ff.; *BE* (2006) 210, and *BE* (2008) 263.

81 So Müller 2001, p. 271: "L'année 287 pourrait donc être une candidate satisfaisante pour cet archonte".

82 In my opinion, the brief secession of Chalcis from Macedonian power and its subsequent entry into the Boeotian *koinon* came only a dozen years later (cf. *supra* p. 81 and n. 54). A definite solution to this problem can only come from new evidence that will allow a precise dating of the very close group of the federal archons Aischr(i)ondas, Triax and Eumelos, who should be placed after—not before, as thought until very recently—their colleague Philokomos, i.e. after 286 or 285 BC.

83 Because of the presence of *probouloi* and *strategoi* (generals), but not of *polemarchoi* (polemarchs), in the prescript of the Eretrian decree for Gonatas: see above p. 85 with n. 77. Unlike the Oropians (cf. Knoepfler 2002, p. 140), the Eretrians most probably did not participate with the Boeotians in the war against the Celts in Central Greece in 279.

84 Just. *Epit*. 24.1.1–4; cf. Sánchez 2001, pp. 280–281, with the earlier bibliography.

the great *Κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν* was therefore an extremely short—and perhaps not very happy—political experience for the people of Eretria. It is all the more extraordinary that the very first of the numerous inscriptions that have been discovered in Eretria has only just now brought about indisputable evidence about such an extraordinary event.

Appendix. The Decree of Eretria Copied by Cyriacus of Ancona in 1436

(The exact disposition of the stone is not known)

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Ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου Θεόδοτος Θεοδώρου
καὶ οἱ πολέμαρχοι Σ⟨ω⟩σίστρατος Πρωτομένου,
Αἰσχύλος Ἀντανδρίδου, Ἰθαιγένης Αἰσχύλου
εἶπα⟨ν⟩· ἐπειδὴ τῆι πομπῆι τῆι Διονύσου ἥ τε
φρου⟨ρ⟩ὰ ἀπῆλθεν ὅ τε δῆμος ἠλευθερώθη κ[αὶ]
[τοὺς π]ατ⟨ρί⟩ους ⟨νό⟩μους καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν
ἐκομίσατο· ὅπως ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης
ἦι, ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι· στεφανη-
φορεῖν Ἐρετριεῖς πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας
κιττοῦ στέφανον τῆι πομπῆι τοῦ Διονύσου·
τοὺς δὲ πωλητὰς ἀπομι⟨σ⟩θοῦν τε [τ]οὺς στ̣[εφ]ά-
νους· ἐπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς χῴρους ἑκ̣άστ⟨ου⟩ς
τῶι Διονύσωι οἶνον καταπεμπομ̣[ένους ?] ----

The priest of Dionysos Theodotos son of Theodoros and the polemarchs Sosistratos son of Protomenes, Aischylos son of Antandrides, Ithaigenes son of Aischylos proposed: since on the occasion of the procession of Dionysos the garrison departed and the people were liberated and recovered the ancestral laws and the democratic constitution; so that there will be a reminder of this day, resolved by the Council and the Assembly: let all the Eretrians and all the residents wear ivy crowns at the procession of Dionysos. Let the sellers (*poletai*) lease out the crowns; and let each district (*choros*) offer libations to Dionysos by sending for wine …

Apparatus criticus

L. 2: ΣΟΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ Cyriacus. L. 4: ΕΙΠΑΕ Cyriacus. L. 5: ΦΡΟΥΤΑ Cyriacus, φρου⟨ρ⟩ὰ Boeckh; ΟΤΕΟΔΗΜΟΣ Cyriacus, ὅ τε ⟨ὁ⟩ edd. antiquiores, ὅ τε δῆμος Sokolowski et edd. post. L. 5–6: Κ … . .ΤΟΥΣΥΜΝΟΥΣ Cyriacus, κ[ατὰ τοὺς ὕμνους Boekh, Michel, nec non Reinach, κ[αὶ μετὰ τοὺς ὕμνους Sokolowski, κ[αὶ τοὺς π]ατ⟨ρί⟩ους ⟨νό⟩μους Dittenberger, Ziebarth, Robert (cf. *supra* n. 23). L. 11: ΠΟΛΙΤΑΣ Cyriacus, πολίτας edd. plerique, [λαβεῖν τοὺς στεφάνους ἐκ vel ἀπ τοῦ δημοσίου], rest. Boeckh, Dittenberger, Holleaux, Michel, Ziebarth, Sokolowski, Jaccottet, δημοσίᾳ (sic!) N. Lewis (*SEG* XL 758), πωλητὰς ἀπομι⟨σ⟩θοῦν τε Robert (cf. *supra* n. 44). L. 12–13: ἀπομι⟨σ⟩θοῦν τε [τὸν ταμί]αν [τ]οὺς στ̣[εφ]άνους rest. Dittenberger, Holleaux, Michel, Ziebarth, [τὸν ἐν ἀρχῆι ὄντα ταμί]αν Sokolowski, Jaccottet, [τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸν ταμί]αν vel simile N. Lewis (*SEG* XL 758). L. 12: ΧΟΡΟΥΣ Cyriacus, χορούς Boeckh, Dittenberger, Holleaux, Michel, Ziebarth (χ. τῶν ἀνδρῶν …), Sokolowski, denuo Jaccottet, N. Lewis (*SEG* XL 758), χώρους D. Lewis, Robert (cf. *supra* n. 44); … ΕΙΑΣΤΑΣ Cyriacus, [τὰς χορ]είας Boeckh, Holleaux, Michel, Dittenberger, nihil rest. Ziebarth et Sokolowski, om. N. Lewis (*SEG* XL 758), ἑκάστ⟨ου⟩ς D. Lewis. L. 13: [ἱσταμένας] καταπεμπομ̣[ένον ὑπὸ …], Dittenberger, καταπεμπομ̣[ένους] Ziebarth et D. Lewis, om. N. Lewis (*SEG* XL 758).

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Between Macedon, Achaea and Boeotia: The Epigraphy of Hellenistic Megara Revisited[1]

Adrian Robu

As in the case of numerous Greek cities, the history of Hellenistic Megara relies primarily on epigraphic evidence. As a result, any historical study of the city should perforce involve a review of inscriptions published long ago or even more recently. My essay focuses on a series of Megarian inscriptions from the third and second centuries: some of them are lost, while others are now in various Greek museums. The study of these documents has led me to conclude that the dates proposed by Dittenberger more than one century ago in *IG* VII for certain decrees, ephebic catalogues and dedications, should be revised. The new chronology that I defend here is not without implications for the history of Hellenistic Megara, including the question of the city's integration into the Achaean confederation.

It is worth recalling that although Megara is the main city of the Megarid, we also know of the existence of four other settlements, called *komai* by the ancient authors: Tripodiskoi (on the Geraneaia slopes),[2] Ereneia (probably in the region of the Pateras Mountains),[3] and Aegosthena and Pagae, two ports on the Corinthian Gulf, which acquired the status of *polis* during the second half of the third century.[4] Besides Megara, Aegosthena and Pagae are the only settlements in the Megarid to have produced epigraphic documents.

After the death of Alexander the Great, the Megarid was on several occasions occupied by the Macedonians: once by Cassander's army, then by Demetrios Poliorketes, Antigonos Gonatas, and finally, as some scholars believe, by Demetrios II (see *infra*). To escape Antigonid domination, in 243 Megara joined the

1 I wish to thank Nikolaos Papazarkadas for the invitation to the Berkeley symposium on the epigraphy and history of ancient Boeotia and for correcting my English text. I would also like to thank the authorities of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and of the Benaki Museum for giving me permission to study and to reproduce some of inscriptions that I discuss here. I am also grateful to Ms Panagiota Avgerinou for her help and good welcome at Megara. This work was supported by CNCS-UEFISCDI (project PN II-RU, RP 14/2010, contract nº 6/28.07.2010).

2 Legon 1981, p. 33; Smith 2008, p. 31.

3 Van de Maele 1980, pp. 153–159; Muller 1982, pp. 379–405; Smith 2008, pp. 65–66 and 167–172.

4 Legon 1981, pp. 32–33; Freitag 2005, pp. 174–186; Smith 2008, pp. 35–38, 45–49.

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Achaean *koinon*, and then, in 224, the Boeotian *koinon*. Two decades later, near the end of the third century, the city returned to the Achaeans, remaining with them until 146, the date of the dissolution of the Achaean confederation by Rome.[5] We might note then that the Megarians of the Hellenistic period had to choose between different powerful allies, the Macedonians, the Achaeans and the Boeotians. The political changes that took place in central Greece after the middle of the third century influenced the Megarians' epigraphic habits as well as their political organization and institutions. One of the aims of my essay is precisely this: to present external influences on the epigraphic culture of Megara.

The first category of inscriptions that gives information on the history and institutions of Hellenistic Megara is a series of proxeny decrees whose chronology I would now like to examine.

The Megarian Proxeny Decrees of the Third Century: A New Chronology

For the third century, eighteen Megarian proxeny decrees are known: seventeen texts were displayed in the temple of Olympian Zeus and one document in the temple of Artemis.[6] We find identical formulae in all these inscriptions. As in the case of Athenian documents, the Megarian decrees mention important city officials: the eponymous *basileus*, the secretary of the *boule* and the *demos*, the board of the five or six *stratagoi* (see, e.g., the text reproduced in the Appendix, no. 1). It appears then that the eighteen proxeny decrees constitute one single series that probably belongs to the same chronological period.[7] An examination of the paleography supports this view, at least concerning the remaining decrees.

We also know that the documents displayed in the Olympieum were not written on free-standing stelae, but rather on blocks that formed part of an ancient temple wall or other structure, or even an *exedra* close to the building.[8] Sometimes, the cutter reproduced on the stone the fronton of a stele, as we can

5 Meyer 1932, pp. 194–197; Legon 1981, pp. 299–300; Smith 2008, p. 106; Liddel 2009, p. 411; Robu 2012, pp. 95–99, 104–105.

6 The decrees *IG* VII 1–14, and Heath 1912–1913, pp. 84–85, nos. I–III, were set up at the Olympieum, while the decree Kaloyéropoulou 1974, p. 140 (= Choremi 2004, p. 211), was displayed in the Artemisium. The authenticity of the decree *IG* VII 3473 is doubtful.

7 Feyel 1942, p. 86; Liddel 2009, p. 421.

8 Muller 1984, pp. 256–259; Liddel 2009, pp. 428–433.

see on the facsimile of the decree *IG* VII 1 printed in Dittenberger's corpus. This peculiarity strongly suggests that the mason tried to imitate the stele form of publication.

The proxeny decrees *IG* VII 1–14 are now lost, and we can only examine the three decrees inscribed on a single block of grey stone published one century ago by R.M. Heath. This stone is currently in the Archaeological Museum of Megara (see fig. nos. 1–2). We can also study a decree inscribed on a stele that was set up in the Artemisium; this document was published in 1974 by A. Kaloyéropoulou and is presently on display in the Benaki Museum (see fig. no. 3).

Now, the fourteen decrees from the Olympieum have been placed at the beginning of the Megarian corpus of inscriptions. The reason is that at the end of nineteenth century, the date of these documents was thought to be firmly established. They were all dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century because three decrees (*IG* VII 1, 5 and 6) grant proxeny, and in one instance citizenship, to officers of king Demetrios (see, for example, the text in the Appendix, no. 1). Nineteenth-century scholars unanimously identified the king Demetrios in question with Demetrios Poliorketes, a view that was grounded in the good relations attested between this king and Megara.[9] Indeed, ancient authors attest that in the summer of 307 Demetrios liberated the city of Megara from Cassander's occupation. According to Diodorus,

> ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος, φρουρουμένης τῆς Μεγαρέων πόλεως, ἐκπολιορκήσας αὐτὴν ἀπέδωκεν τὴν αὐτονομίαν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τιμῶν ἀξιολόγων ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὖ παθόντων.
>
> Although Megara was held by a garrison, Demetrios took it by siege, restored their autonomy to its people, and received noteworthy honours from those whom he had served.[10]

9 Rangabé 1855, p. 295; Foucart 1873, pp. 13–14, 17; Monceux 1886, pp. 165–166; Dittenberger 1892, p. 2, 7. It is important to note that Dittenberger dated the decrees recording five *stratagoi*, *IG* VII 8–14, to the beginning of the third century, but after the decrees mentioning six *stratagoi*, *IG* VII 1–7. As Paschidis 2008, p. 299 n. 1, has pointed out, the reason seems to be that Dittenberger saw a squeeze only of *IG* VII 8 and 9; these are the only decrees transcribed in his corpus with serifs. So, it is possible that Dittenberger proposed a later date for the decrees *IG* VII 8–14, on the basis of the letter-forms. Nevertheless, thanks to new decrees published by Heath 1912–1913, pp. 84–85, nos. I–III, we know that some boards of five *stratagoi* predated those of six *stratagoi* (see *infra*).

10 Diod. Sic. 20.46.3 (translation by Geer 1954). On the conquest of Megara by Demetrios Poliorketes, see also Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F 66; Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 9.4–10; *Mor.* 5 F and

In 1942, Michel Feyel was the first to challenge the *opinio communis* in his well-known book on Polybius and the history of Boeotia, in which he argued that the king Demetrios mentioned in the Megarian decrees is Demetrios II, grandson of Demetrios Poliorketes. Feyel claimed that the decrees ought to be dated between 239 and 229, in the period of the Demetrian War. In his view, this chronology was supported both by letter-forms and by prosopographical analysis.[11] But the controversy continues, and Christian Habicht and Robert Urban have proposed new prosopographical arguments for dating the Megarian inscriptions to the period of Demetrios Poliorketes.[12]

However, the prosopographical parameters in favor of placing the decrees under Poliorketes are not unquestionable, and relying on this evidence in order to date the Megarian proxenies is problematic. For instance, as concerns the main prosopographical data invoked by the advocates of the high chronology, we may note that the Megarians Timon, son of Agathon, and Kallias, son of Hippias, who were honored at Delphi at the end of fourth century or the beginning of the third century, could be either the homonymous generals mentioned in the proxeny decrees, or the grandfathers of these magistrates.[13]

Otherwise, as Feyel has shown, a very useful tool for dating Megarian decrees is paleography. As we can see in the photos (see fig. nos. 1–3), the style of the lettering is quite similar in both the decrees published by Heath and in the decree from the Benaki Museum. In all these inscriptions, the letters are ornamented with short straight apices; most alphas have a curved crossbar; several letters have slanting strokes which extend above them (alpha, mu, nu, and sigma, for instance); round letters are slightly smaller than the rest of the letters; some xis (Ξ) have a vertical stroke and others do not in the Olympieum decrees, whereas xis do not have a vertical stroke in the Artemisium decree.[14] This last observation could suggest that the Olympieum decrees belong to a period of transition, and this could be an argument for dating them before the Artemisium decree. The description of the letters leaves few doubts about the date of the decrees. In fact, even though dating by letter-forms can be questionable, it is extremely difficult to find these types of letters at the end

475 C; Diog. Laert. 2.115. The siege of Megara by Poliorketes is dated to July 307: Liddel 2009, p. 411 n. 1.

11 Feyel 1942, pp. 31–32, 85–100.

12 Urban 1979, pp. 66–70; Habicht 1989, pp. 321–322.

13 See *infra* notes 35 and 38.

14 Feyel 1942, pp. 88–89; Paschidis 2008, p. 299 n. 1.

of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century. On the contrary, we find similar letters in Megarian inscriptions that date to after the middle of the third century.[15]

A supplementary argument in support of the lower chronology arises from the use of uninscribed spaces in the prescripts of the Megarian proxeny decrees. We can observe the presence of a *vacat* in the decree from the Artemisium both at the beginning and end of line 8 where the enactment formula ἔδοξε βουλᾶι καὶ δάμωι appears (see fig. no. 3). The centered heading, obviously employed for the purpose of emphasis and/or punctuation, is also found in Heath's three decrees from the Olympieum (see fig. nos. 1–2). In all these inscriptions, a *vacat* is also present before the formula ἐπὶ βασιλέος followed by the name of the magistrate. These epigraphic peculiarities suggest that the decrees were passed in a short span of time. In this respect, it is worth noting that centered headings are characteristic of Athenian decrees, both probouleumatic and non-probouleumatic, that postdate 250/49.[16] It can thus be reasonably inferred that the Megarians imitated an epigraphic habit used by their neighbors or that letter-cutters from Athens moved to Megara. Several parallels between Attic and Megarian epigraphy support this view. Thus, amongst the few fifth-century public documents found at Megara, both a casualty list enumerating the deceased by tribe and an *ostrakon* reflect Attic trends.[17] Moreover, as we have already seen, the headings of the Megarian decrees in the Hellenistic period often name the civic magistrates, as in the Athenian proxenies (see Appendix, no. 1). Besides, uninscribed spaces were left in the case of the Artemisium decree before and after the name of the secretary, and we can observe that a *vacat* also occurs before

15 Similar letters appear, for instance, in the inscription *IG* VII 42 (ca. 242/1–236/5) for the Apollo temple or in the decree recording the dispute between Pagae and Aegosthena *IG* VII 188–189 (= Robert 1939, pp. 107–108, with pl. V–VI, end of the third century or beginning of the second century). See Robu 2012, pp. 93–94, with pl. V–VI.

16 On centered headings (the "perfect design," as specialists in Attic epigraphy call it), see Henry 1977, pp. 67–70; Tracy 1996, pp. 49–51. For instance, the same *vacat* as in the Megarian decrees is present in the Attic decrees *IG* II² 788, l. 7, and 790, l. 7 (= *Agora* XV 115), issued during the archonship of Lysanias, which has been assigned to 234/3 by Osborne 2009, p. 93. We know also that the "Cutter of *IG* II² 1706" often employed the centered heading: see more recently Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008, pp. 76–77. The *floruit* of this letter-cutter is fixed between 229/8 and ca. 203 by Tracy 1990, pp. 44–54.

17 Cf. Liddel 2009, p. 416 n. 38. The names of the Megarian casualty list published by Kritzas 1989, pp. 167–187 (*SEG* XXXIX 411), were inscribed in the *stoichedon* style. For the *ostrakon* found at Megara, see Kritzas 1987, pp. 59–73 (*SEG* XXXVII 370).

the name of the secretary in the prescripts of some Athenian decrees of the mid-third century.[18] Given the close parallels between the Athenian and Megarian epigraphical habits, we may conclude that centered headings at Megara reflect an Athenian influence. And if we accept that Megarian and Athenian decrees employing uninscribed spaces in the enactment formulae are contemporary, then the Megarian texts must be dated to the second half of the third century. Thus we have a strong argument for identifying the *basileus Damatrios* mentioned in the decrees *IG* VII 1, 5 and 6 with king Demetrios II.

We might now ask whether it is possible to narrow the chronology of the Megarian proxenies. In a recent study on the Megarian offices of *stratagoi*, I proposed to make a chronological distinction between the decrees recording six generals (Heath 1912–1913, p. 85, no. III; *IG* VII 1–7), which certainly date to the period of Megara's occupation by the army of Demetrios II (ca. 236/5–229), and the decrees recording five generals (Kaloyéropoulou 1974, p. 140; *IG* VII 8–14; Heath 1912–1913, pp. 84–85, nos. I–II), which might antedate or postdate this period.[19] I summarize here the arguments for this hypothesis. First of all, as a general rule, the board of generals at Megara consisted of five annually elected members. However, the three decrees granting proxeny or citizenship to Demetrios's officers (*IG* VII 1, 5 and 6) were promulgated under the authority of an extraordinary magistracy, the board of six generals, which remained in power for at least four consecutive years. The fact that the same people were chosen as *stratagoi* during a period of several years was a decidedly non-democratic measure. This can be explained by an exceptional situation such as the Macedonian occupation of the Megarid and perhaps also by the presence of an oligarchic regime. Macedonian occupation is clearly attested in the case of the *kome* of Aegosthena. The Megarian decree *IG* VII 1 (= Appendix, no. 1) honours the Boeotian Zoilos, son of Kelainos, named by king Demetrios as the commander of the Macedonian troops in Aegosthena. The Megarians thank the honorand for the discipline that he and his soldiers have shown in Aegosthena. Thus it is certain that the decrees recording six generals belong to the period of the occupation of the Megarid by the army of Demetrios II, i.e. between 236/5 (after 236, the date of the alliance of the Boeotians and Macedonians) and 229 (the year of the death of Demetrios II).[20]

18 *IG* II² 680, l. 2 (ca. 250/49); 778, l. 2 (ca. 251/0); cf. Henry 1977, p. 66. For the dates of these decrees, see Osborne 2009, p. 91.

19 Robu 2012, pp. 99–104.

20 Feyel 1942, pp. 92–93, dates the beginning of the Macedonian occupation of Megara to

Let us now briefly move on to the chronology of the decrees recording five annually elected generals. Most of these documents are now lost. But two of them obviously predate the decrees recording six generals, as primarily suggested by the arrangement of the three decrees on the block published by Heath (fig. no. 1). The decree with six generals is inscribed to the right of the two decrees recording five generals, and this arrangement could only mean that the period of the six generals postdates that of the five generals. Further, one wonders if the presence of a structure of "five units" (πέντε μέρη) in the political organization of Megara was not a third century addition. In fact, if the number six can be related to the ancient division of the Megarian civic body into three traditional Dorian tribes (*Hylleis*, *Dymanes*, *Pamphyloi*), we cannot find something similar for the number five in the civic organization of Megara or its colonies.[21] On the other hand, as Thomas Corsten has suggested, the Achaeans were very probably divided into five political units in the Hellenistic period.[22] Thus it is possible that for their office of five generals, the Megarians copied an Achaean model. We can find some evidence in favor of this hypothesis, notably the inscriptions attesting to the imitation of the Boeotian and Achaean federal magistrates by the Megarians. During the period in which Megara and Aegosthena were attached to the Boeotion *koinon*, the two cities adopted such Boeotian magistracies as the archon and the *polemarchoi* (see also *infra*).[23] After that, in the second century, when Megara and Aegosthena were again part of the Achaean League, the typically Achaean institution of the *synarchiai* is attested in the two cities.[24] Moreover, the Boeotian and Achaean formulae

239/8 (at the earliest), and places its end in 235 (at the earliest) or 229 (at the latest). He assumes also that the Boeotian *koinon* annexed Aegosthena sometime during the period 237/6 to 234. But as Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 282 and 323–331, have shown, Aegosthena and Megara together joined the Boeotians in 224. According to Habicht 2006, p. 136, the Boeotian *koinon* entered into alliance with Demetrios II in 236. We may assume that the Macedonians occupied the Megarid also in 236 or maybe during the next year; cf. Paschidis 2008, p. 297 n. 2.

21 For the presence of the Dorian tribes at Megara, see Jones 1987, pp. 94–97; Kritzas 1989, p. 174; Robu 2007, pp. 171–176.

22 Corsten 1999, pp. 170–173.

23 The eponymous *basileus* and the five *stratagoi* were replaced at Megara during its Boeotian period by an archon and five *polemarchoi*: see *IG* VII 27 and 28. Inscriptions also reveal that an eponymous archon and the *polemarchoi* were in office at Aegosthena during its membership in the Boeotian *koinon*: see *IG* VII 207, 208, 213 (*polemarchoi*); 209, 212, 214–218, 220–222 (eponymous archon).

24 *IG* VII 15 (Megara) and 223 (Aegosthena). Cf. Robu 2011, pp. 88–89.

are employed in the decrees or military catalogues of Megara and Aegosthena from the third and second centuries.[25]

In sum, if the Megarian five-member structure imitates an Achaean model of organization, it means that all the decrees recording five generals should be dated after 243, the year when Megara entered the Achaean confederation. I also think that these decrees precede 224, the date when the Megarians joined the Boeotian League and replaced the five *stratagoi* with five *polemarchoi*. The possibility that the decrees postdate the exit of Megara from the Boeotian *koinon* is less plausible, because the formulae used in the Megarian decrees after the end of the third century are quite different from those found in the decrees recording five *stratagoi*. The main differences in these later decrees are the presence of the Achaean federal secretary and calendar, and the presence of different boards of magistrates such as the *synarchiai* and the *aisimnatai*.[26]

In conclusion, I propose to ascribe the eighteen decrees (promulgated over nine years) to three different chronological groups:

The first one is formed by the two decrees recording five generals published by Heath (1912–1913, pp. 84–85, nos. I–II). Predating the decrees mentioning the six generals, these documents may belong to the year 237/6.

The second group contains the decrees recording six generals (Heath 1912–1913, p. 85, no. III; *IG* VII 1–7) and concerns four years (four different *basileis* and *grammateis* are mentioned): it belongs to the period of the occupation of the Megarid by the army of Demetrios II, between 236/5 and 230/29.[27]

The third group of decrees is the most difficult to date: it is made up of the decree published by Kaloyéropoulou (1974, p. 140) and of the decrees *IG* VII 8–14 (now lost). This group refers to four years (four different *basileis*, *grammateis* and boards of five *stratagoi* are attested) and can be dated either between 243/2–238/7, or between 229/8–225/4.

For a better understanding, I have arranged the Megarian decrees and magistrates in different registers, and I have also included in the footnotes the

25 Maquieira 1992, pp. 85–89; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, pp. 111, 484–485, 556; Liddel 2009, pp. 426–427.

26 *IG* VII 15; 188–189 (= Robert 1939, pp. 107–108); 223. On the magistrates attested in these decrees, see Robu 2011, pp. 85–90.

27 More recently, Paschidis 2008, pp. 297–299, dates the decrees recording six *stratagoi* to ca. 236/5–233/2. But there is no possibility of knowing whether these decrees were promulgated over four consecutive years, and the six *stratagoi* may have stayed in office more than four years, probably until the death of Demetrios II in 229.

prosopographical evidence advanced by the supporters of the higher and lower chronologies respectively.

GROUP I *The decrees recording five generals preceding the year of the office of six stratagoi. Date: ca. 237/6*

Ed.	**Heath 1912–1913, pp. 84–85, nos. I–II**
Basileus	Pasidoros
Grammateus	Pasion, son of Mnasitheos[28]
Stratagoi	Apollodoros, son of Diodotos; Dionysios, son of Herodoros;[29] Pyrros, son of Diokleidas;[30] Eupalinos, son of Mnasitheos; Panis, son of Theokleidas[31]
Honorandi	-oros, son of Sotion (Iasos); Meniskos, son of Chairestratos
(Origin)	(Halikarnassos)
Publication place	Olympieum

28 His son or father, Mnasitheos, son of Pasion, is attested as *stratagos* in *IG* VII 8, l. 18; 9, ll. 18–19; 10, l. 5; 11, l. 4. His brother may be the *stratagos* Eupalinos, son of Mnasitheos, attested in the same group of inscriptions.

29 According to Feyel 1942, p. 88, Dionysios, son of Herodoros, is the father of Herodoros, son of Dionysios, attested as *ephebos* at Aegosthena (*IG* VII 215, ll. 4–5, a catalogue mentioning the Boeotian archon Charilos which is commonly assigned to 219/8: Étienne-Knoepfler 1976, pp. 302, 350).

30 Urban 1979, p. 68 n. 324, suggested that Pyrros, son of Diokleidas, is the father of Diokleidas, son of Pyrros, attested as envoy of king Antigonos Gonatas and *proxenos* at Minoa (*IG* XII 7, 221 B, l. 13, ca. 263–245). But the Diokleidas, son of Pyrros, attested at Minoa could also be the father of the Megarian *stratagos*: Robu 2012, pp. 90–91. Besides, some scholars believe that the king Antigonos mentioned in the inscription of Minoa is not Antigonos Gonatas, but Antigonos Doson: Paschidis 2008, pp. 302 n. 3, 415–416; Cassayre 2010, p. 51 n. 7.

31 The same person is probably attested in a list of *theoroi* of Apollo Prostaterios, *IG* VII 39, l. 4 (see *infra*).

GROUP II *Decrees recording six generals promulgated over four years at the time of the Macedonian occupation of the Megarid. Date: ca. 236/5–230/29*

Ed.	**Heath 1912–1913, p. 85, no. III; *IG* VII 1–7**
Basileis	Antiphilos; Apollodoros, son of Euphronios;[32] Euklias; Theomantos
Grammateis	Apollodoros, son of Eupalinos; Dameas, son of Damoteles;[33] Eupalinos, son of Homophron; Pasion, son of Dorotheos
Stratagoi	Phokinos, son of Eualkos;[34] Aristotimos, son of Menekrates; Damoteles, son of Dameas; Thedoros, son of Panchares; Prothymos, son of Zeuxis; Timon, son of Agathon[35]
Honorandi (Origin)	Lykiskos, son of Physalos (Elis); Zoilos, son of Kelainos (Boeotia);[36] Agathon, son of Archias (Argos); Alex-; Mys, son of Proteas (Eresos); Kleon, son of Kleon (Erythrai); Philon, son of Kleon (Erythrai); Hermonax, son of Hermogenes (Troezen)
Publication place	Olympieum

32 This *basileus* could be the brother of Bospon, son of Euphronios, honoured at Delphi during the archonship of Thessalos (*F.Delphes* III.1.188): Urban 1979, p. 68 n. 324. The archon Thessalos is dated to 269/8 or 268/7 by Lefèvre 1995, pp. 175, 185; Lefèvre 1998, p. 311.

33 According to Urban 1979, p. 68 n. 324, the secretary Dameas, son of Damoteles, is the brother of Matrokles, son of Damotheles, honoured at Delphi during the archonship of Ainesilas (*F.Delphes* III.1.169, ca. 290–280: see Daux 1943, p. 35). The father or the son of this secretary, Damoteles, son of Dameas, appears as *stratagos* in the same group of decrees.

34 Concerning Phokinos, son of Eualkos, scholars have suggested that he could be the grandson of the Megarian Phokinos attested as *proxenos* at Athens, ca. 340/39 (*IG* II² 231), and that he was honoured with Athenian citizenship, since an ephebe named Eualkos, son of Phokinos, is attested at Athens (*IG* II² 766, ca. 243/2). This ephebe could be the son of the Megarian *stratagos*: Reinach 1900, pp. 161–162; Osborne 1983, p. 86; Habicht 1989, pp. 321–322; Lambert 2001, pp. 61, 65; *contra* Paschidis 2008, p. 301; Robu 2012, pp. 91–92.

35 A Timon, son of Agathon, is honoured at Delphi during the archonship of Herakleidas (*F.Delphes* III.1.181). This archon would be Herakleidas I, dated to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century (Flacelière 1937, pp. 428–429; Daux 1943, pp. 28–29), and not Herakleidas III as Feyel 1942, pp. 87–88, has proposed. We might note that the *stratagos* Timon, son of Agathon, could also be the grandson of the Megarian attested at Delphi; his son or father, Agathon, son of Timon, is mentioned as *stratagos* by the decree Kaloyéropoulou 1974, p. 140, l. 6. For prosopographical data on the family of Timon, son of Agathon, see Urban 1979, p. 68 n. 324; Étienne-Knoepfler 1976, pp. 323–324 n. 219; Paschidis 2008, pp. 301–302; Robu 2012, pp. 90–91.

36 Marasco 1983, pp. 221–222, proposed that the Boeotian Zoilos, son of Kelainos, is the Zoilos

GROUP III *Decrees recording five generals promulgated over four years. Date: ca. 243/2–238/7 or ca. 229/8–225/4*

Ed.	***IG* VII 8–11 (and maybe also *IG* VII 3473 ?)**
Basileus	Pasiadas
Grammateus	Hippon, son of Panchares
Stratagoi	Dionysios, son of Pyrridas; Dameas, son of Matrokles; Antiphilos, son of Smachos; Mnasitheos, son of Pasion; Herkion, son of Teles
Honorandi (Origin)	Agathokles, son of Archidamos (Boeotia); Diokritos, son of Diokritos (Halikarnassos); Telesias, son of Taurion (Phleious); Peithanoridas, son of Nikaithos (Phleious); Menandros, son of Kallikrates (Megalopolis); Athenagoras, son of Glaukias (Perinthos) ?
Publication place	Olympieum

Ed.	***IG* VII 12–13**
Basileus	Diogenes
Grammateus	Helixos, son of Eudamos
Stratagoi	Panchares, son of Diodoros; Erimnos, son of Themnastos;[37] Euphamos, son of Eukleion; Teision, son of Amphias; Megyllos, son of Silanos
Honorandi (city of origin)	Hippias, son of Perikles (Astakos in Acarnania); Nikatas, son of Archedamos (Epidauros)
Publication place	Olympieum

attested in Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 21.4, during the siege of Rhodes by Demetrios Poliorketes. Cf. Rhodes and Lewis 1997, p. 111. But this identification is far from certain: Paschidis 2008, pp. 300–301 n. 3; Robu 2012, p. 92.

37 The same person is probably attested in a list of *theoroi* of Apollo Prostaterios, *IG* VII 39, l. 3 (see *infra*).

Ed.	***IG* VII 14**
Basileus	Apollonidas
Grammateus	Chrysanthidas, son of Apollodoros
Stratagoi	Pythokles, son of Eugeitas; Pantakles, son of Nikodamos; Stratopeithes, son of Harpokrates; Pasiadas and Herodoros, sons of Dion
Honorandus (Origin)	Aristandros, son of Thargelis (Halikarnassos)
Publication place	Olympieum

Ed.	**Kaloyéropoulou 1974, p. 141**
Basileus	Damon
Grammateus	Aleios, son of Olympichos
Stratagoi	Diokleidas, son of Lykiskos; Thokles, son of Thedoros; Agathon, son of Timon; Kallias, son of Hippias;[38] Ptoiodoros, son of Eupalinos
Honorandus (Origin)	Anchiaros, son of Philon (Boeotia)
Publication place	Artemisium

Dating the Megarian decrees to the period of Demetrios II implies that the received opinion on the chronology of the Megarian membership in the Achaean confederation must be modified. Following a passage of Polybius (20.6.7–8 = Appendix, no. 2), scholars have long placed Megara within the Achaean League in the period between 243 and 224,[39] but we must acknowledge between these years a period of secession that corresponds to the occupation of the Megarid by Demetrios II from ca. 236/5 to 229.

38 J. and L. Robert, *BE* (1974) 264 (citing D. Knoepfler), identified this *stratagos* with the Megarian Kallias, son of Hippias, who received proxeny at Delphi during the archonship of Ainesilas (*F.Delphes* III.1.169, ca. 290–280, see *supra* n. 33). Nevertheless, the Megarian *stratagos* could also be the grandson of the honorand from Delphi: Robu 2012, pp. 90–91.

39 Foucart 1873, p. 20; Dittenberger 1892, p. 26; Beloch 1927, pp. 433–434; Highbarger 1927, pp. 209–212; Robert 1939, pp. 114–115 (= 1969, pp. 1267–1268); Meyer 1932, pp. 195–197.

We may also lower the dates of some Megarian inscriptions dependent upon those of the proxeny decrees for their chronology. The dedications *IG* VII 39–40 (apparently now lost) made by a college of *theoroi* (local magistrates, not sacred ambassadors) and an *auletas* to Apollo *Prostaterios* were dated by Dittenberger to the beginning of the third century.[40] The reason is the mention of the Erimnos son of Themnastos (attested as *stratagos* in *IG* VII 12–13) among the *theoroi* of *IG* VII 39. We know also that *IG* VII 39 and 40 are contemporary, because the *auletas* Aglonikos, son of Onymas, is present in both inscriptions. Another *theoros* of *IG* VII 39, Panis, son of Theokleidas, appears as *stratagos* in two of the decrees published by Heath (84–85, nos. I–II). The *stratagoi* Erimnos, son of Themnastos, and Panis, son of Theokleidas, belonged very probably to the leading families of Megara, and it is reasonable to suppose that they occupied also the office of *theoros*. But in this case, considering the new chronology of the proxeny decrees, the inscriptions *IG* VII 39–40 must belong to the second half of the third century.

Another group of public documents whose chronology must be reconsidered is the ephebic catalogues *IG* VII 27–32.

The Catalogues *IG* VII 27–32 from the Boeotian and Achaean Periods of Megara

Polybius (20.6.9 = Appendix, no. 2) reports that, "with the consent of the Achaeans" (μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν γνώμης), the Megarians joined the Boeotian League. The Achaeans agreed to this change of alliance because the Megarians had since 224 been cut off from the Peloponnese after the occupation of Corinth by the king of Sparta, Cleomenes III. It was in the Megarid, at Pagae, that Aratus met Antigonos Doson in 225/4 and concluded the alliance between the Achaean League and Macedon.[41]

The six catalogues *IG* VII 27–32 were published on two blocks of stone now lost, but they may derive, as Peter Liddel has suggested, from a wall of the Olympieum.[42] If this hypothesis is right, it means that the Megarians continued to publish public documents at the Olympieum after 224.

The military catalogues *IG* VII 27–28 mention the ephebes enrolled in the army over a period of two years. The formula τοίδε ἀπῆλθον ἐξ ἐφήβων εἰς τὰ

40 The date proposed by Dittenberger was followed in *LGPN* III.B (s.vv. the persons attested in *IG* VII 39–40) and by Smith 2008, p. 118.

41 Plut. *Vit. Arat*. 43–44; cf. Freitag 2005, p. 183.

42 Liddel 2009, p. 430.

τάγματα is a Boeotian one.[43] Both catalogues are dated by the Megarian archon as well as by the Boeotian federal archon, in this case Potidaichos (ca. 221/0) and Andronikos (ca. 220/19), respectively.[44] In this respect, the prescript formulae are different from those found in the proxeny decrees: the eponymous *basileus* is replaced by the archon and the five *stratagoi* by five *polemarchoi*. Accordingly, these documents show that the Megarians adopted Boeotian institutions: both the archon and the *polemarchoi* are attested as magistrates in the Boeotian *koinon*.[45]

Among the four other catalogues, two of them, *IG* VII 29 and 31, list the persons admitted to the ephebate (ἔφηβοι οἵδε ἐνεκρίθησαν), while two others, *IG* VII 30 and 32, are very fragmentary and bear only names. It is important to observe that *IG* VII 29 was inscribed on the same block as the military catalogues from the Boeotian period of Megara, *IG* VII 27–28. Since the cutter inscribed the catalogue *IG* VII 29 to the right of the documents *IG* VII 27–28, we may assume that *IG* VII 29 is a later document. The first editors, Foucart and Dittenberger, thought that this last catalogue belonged to the same period as the Boeotian catalogues *IG* VII 27–28.[46] But this assessment is questionable, and Feyel has already noted that *IG* VII 29 probably postdates the return of Megara to the Achaean *koinon*, although he gave no justification for the opinion.[47] I would like to argue here in favour of Feyel's view. Most importantly, we observe that the heading formula is different in *IG* VII 29 than in *IG* VII 27–28: the Boeotian archon is not mentioned, and instead of the Megarian archon and *polemarchoi*, we find the secretary of the *demos* and a gymnasiarch, a formula that is not shared with the Boeotian catalogues. I think that the presence of a civic secretary is due to the influence of Achaean prescripts, which mention the federal secretary.[48] In the Megarid, the federal secretary of the Achaean *koinon* appears at the end of the third century or the first half the second century in the decree of Megara *IG* VII 188–189 (= Robert 1939, pp. 107–108) and in the decree of Aegosthena *IG* VII 223.[49] I conclude that *IG* VII 29 should also be dated shortly after the city seceded from the Boeotian confederation and

43 Foucart 1873, p. 20. For the formulae attested in the military catalogues of the Boeotian cities, see Roesch 1982, pp. 340–343.

44 Étienne-Knoepfler 1976, pp. 303, 337–342.

45 Feyel 1942, pp. 92, 198–199; Roesch 1965, pp. 161–162.

46 Foucart 1873, p. 21; Dittenberger 1892, p. 20, followed by Meyer 1932, p. 196; Roesch 1982, p. 343; Smith 2008, pp. 111, 184; Chankowski 2010, p. 158 n. 75.

47 Feyel 1942, p. 41.

48 See Aymard 1933, pp. 95–108, on the secretary of the Achaean *koinon*.

49 Foucart 1873, p. 6; Beloch 1927, p. 433; Robu 2011, pp. 85–87.

rejoined the Achaean *koinon*. The exact date of this political event is not easy to establish: according to the literary evidence, Megara left the Boeotian *koinon* at the time when Philopoemen was the *stratagos* of the Achaeans.[50] Among the generalships of Philopoemen, K.J. Beloch has opted for the *stratagia* of 193/2, but A. Aymard has given good arguments, from Plutarch's order of events, in favour of the year 206/5 for the secession of Megara.[51]

The catalogue *IG* VII 31 is also usually dated to the period of Megara's attachment to the Boeotian *koinon*.[52] But the mention of the secretary of the *synedroi* in the prescript of this catalogue (next to the gymnasiarch) offers a useful *terminus post quem* since, as D. Knoepfler and C. Müller have shown, the *synedrion* replaced the *boule* in the cites of central Greece after Pydna in 167.[53] Consequently, we can date the catalogue *IG* VII 31 after 167 and before 146, the year of the dissolution of the Achaean *koinon* by Rome. At first glance, it is likely that the catalogues *IG* VII 30 and 32, which were inscribed on the same block as *IG* VII 31, belong to the Achaean period of Megara, but in the absence of any formula they cannot be assigned a specific date in the second half of the third century or in the first half of the second century. All in all, *IG* VIII 30 probably predates *IG* VII 31, and *IG* VII 32 postdates *IG* VII 31.[54]

Conclusions

The decrees and catalogues examined here permit some concluding remarks about Megarian epigraphy in the Hellenistic period. First, political and institutional changes can help us to date Megarian inscriptions more precisely. As we have seen, political changes at Megara produced transformations in the institutional field: under Macedonian domination, Megara seems to have been governed by the board of six generals. The city's entrance into the Achaean and the Boeotian confederations also produced a considerable modification of its political institutions: the Megarian archon, *polemarchoi*, and *synarchiai* imitated homonymous Boeotian and Achaean institutions. In this context, it is also

50 Polyb. 20.6.9–12; Plut. *Vit. Phil.* 12.3; Paus. 8.50.4.

51 Beloch 1927, p. 434, followed by Meyer 1932, pp. 196–197; Aymard 1938, pp. 14–15 n. 7, followed by Walbank 1940, p. 165; Errington 1969, p. 77; Walbank 1979, pp. 73–74; Knoepfler 2003, p. 102 n. 93. Cf. Robert 1939, p. 115 (= 1969, p. 1268).

52 Foucart 1873, pp. 22–23; Roesch 1982, p. 343; Chankowski 2010, p. 158 n. 75.

53 Knoepfler 1990, p. 497; Müller 2005, pp. 114–115; cf. D. Knoepfler, *BE* (2010) 348.

54 *IG* VII 30 was inscribed above *IG* VII 31, while *IG* VII 32 was placed to the right of *IG* VII 30–31.

possible that the office of five *stratagoi* reflects the adoption by the Megarians of a "five units" system on an Achaean model.

Second, the presence in the surviving decrees of the same arrangement of the enactment formula as in the Athenian decrees from the second half of the third century (the use of the "perfect design") is a strong argument for dating the Megarian decrees to the period of Demetrios II.

Finally, it is worth stressing that the epigraphic culture of Megara in the Hellenistic period was directly influenced by those of her neighbors. Even though they preserve some linguistic peculiarities, Megarian honorific decrees and catalogues reproduce formulae similar to those found in Attic, Boeotian, and Achaean examples. In mentioning the civic secretary in the headings of the ephebic catalogues *IG* VII 29 and 31, the Megarians were probably influenced by Achaean practice, since in the first half of the second century the federal secretary was named in the prescripts of documents in the Achaean cities. It is also noteworthy that we hardly find any examples of ephebic catalogues in the cities of the Achaean *koinon*, whereas military documents are, on the whole, characteristic of Boeotia, if not distinctively Boeotian. We may conclude then that the Megarians adopted a Boeotian practice by inscribing military catalogues on stone, and that they decided to continue the habit long after they had left the Boeotian *koinon*.

Appendix. Documents Concerning the History of Hellenistic Megara

No. 1: IG *VII 1. Megarian Citizenship Decree for Zoilos, Son of Kelainos (ca. 236/5–230/29 BC).*[55]

1	ἐπὶ βασιλέος Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Εὐφρονίου, γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς καὶ δάμου Δαμέας Δαμοτέλεος, ἐστρατάγουν Δαμοτέλης Δαμέα, Φωκῖνος Εὐάλκου, Ἀριστότιμος Μενεκράτεος, Θέδωρος Παγχάρεος, Πρόθυμος Ζεύξιος, Τίμων Ἀγάθωνος.	In the "kingship" of Apollodoros, son of Euphronios; the secretary of the Council and the Assembly, Dameas, son of Damoteles; Damoteles, son of Dameas, Phokinos, son of Eualkos, Aristotimos, son of Menekrates, Thedoros, son of Panchares, Prothymos, son of Zeuxis, Timon,

55 The inscription is now lost, but for the lettering see fig. no. 3, which reproduces a photo of another decree belonging to the same period (the same persons are attested as stratagoi).

ἐπειδὴ τοὶ Αἰγοστενῖτα[ι]
ἀνάγγελλον Ζωΐλογ Κελαίνου
Βοιώτιον,
τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐν
Αἰγοστένοις τεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ
βασιλέος Δαματρίου, αὐτόν τε
εὔτακτον εἶμεν καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώ-
τας παρέχειν εὐτάκτους, καὶ τἆλλα
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καλῶς καὶ εὐ-
νόως, καὶ ἀξίουν αὐτὸν διὰ ταῦτα
τιμαθῆμεν ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος,
ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι, δεδόχθαι τᾶι βουλᾶι
καὶ τῶι δάμωι, στεφανῶσαι
Ζωΐλογ Κελαίνου Βοιώτιογ
χρυσέωι στεφάνωι καὶ εἶμεν
αὐτὸμ πο-
λίταν τᾶς πόλιος τᾶς Μεγαρέωγ
καὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ· εἶμεν δὲ
αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς
ἀγῶσι οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι.
ἀγγράψαι
δὲ τόδε τὸ δόγμα τὸγ γραμματέα
τοῦ δάμου εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν
καὶ ἀνθέμεν εἰς τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον,
ὅπως εἰδῶντι πάντες ὅτι ὁ δᾶμος
[ὁ Μ]εγαρέων τιμᾷ τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι
πράσσοντας ἢ λόγωι ἢ ἔργωι
ὑπὲρ τᾶς πόλιος ἢ ὑπὲρ τᾶγ κωμᾶν.

son of Agathon were generals. Since the Aegosthenitans report that the Boeotian Zoilos, son of Kelainos, whom the king Demetrios named at the head of the soldiers posted at Aegosthena, has been well-disciplined and maintained the discipline of the soldiers, and he has taken care rightly and kindly of everything else, and he deserves, for these things, to be honoured by the city; with good fortune; be it resolved by the council and by the people: to crown the Boeotian Zoilos, son of Kelainos, with a golden crown; and he shall be a citizen of the city of the Megarians, and his descendants too; and he shall have the right to sit in the front rows at all the competitions which the city organizes; the secretary of the Assembly shall write the decree on a *stele* of marble and place it in the shrine of Zeus Olympios; so that everyone may see that the people of the Megarians honours anyone doing good by word or by deed on behalf of the city or the villages.

No. 2: Polybius 20.6.7–12, on the Defection of Megara from the Boeotian League

Διὸ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς, μισήσαντες μὲν τὴν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν, μνησθέντες δὲ τῆς προγεγενημένης αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν συμπολιτείας, αὖτις ἀπένευσαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων αἵρεσιν. Μεγαρεῖς γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἐπολιτεύοντο μετὰ τῶν

One consequence of this was that the Megarians, detesting this state of affairs and mindful of their former confederacy with the Achaean League, once more inclined towards the Achaeans and their policy. For the Megarians

Ἀχαιῶν ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' Ἀντίγονον τὸν Γονατᾶν χρόνων· ὅτε δὲ Κλεομένης εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν προεκάθισεν, διακλεισθέντες προσέθεντο τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς μετὰ τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν γνώμης. βραχὺ δὲ πρὸ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων καιρῶν δυσαρεστήσαντες τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῶν Βοιωτῶν αὖτις ἀπένευσαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ διοργισθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονεῖσθαι δοκεῖν ἐξῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς πανδημεὶ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. οὐδένα δὲ ποιουμένων λόγον τῶν Μεγαρέων τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῶν, οὕτω θυμωθέντες πολιορκεῖν ἐπεβάλοντο καὶ προσβολὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει. πανικοῦ δ' ἐμπεσόντος αὐτοῖς καὶ φήμης ὅτι πάρεστιν Φιλοποίμην τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔχων, ἀπολιπόντες πρὸς τῷ τείχει τὰς κλίμακας ἔφυγον προτροπάδην εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν.

had originally, from the days of Antigonus Gonatas, formed part of the Achaean League, but when Cleomenes intercepted them by occupying the Isthmus, they were cut off, and with the consent of the Achaeans, joined the Boeotian League. But shortly before the time I am speaking of, they became displeased with the conduct of affairs in Boeotia, and again turned to the Achaeans. Hereupon the Boeotians, indignant at seeming to be flouted, marched out with all their forces against Megara, and when the Megarians treated their arrival as of no importance, they began in their anger to besiege Megara and make assaults on it. But, being seized by panic owing to a report that Philopoemen with the Achaeans had arrived, they left their ladders against the wall and fled in utter rout to their own country (translation by Paton 1978).

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FIGURE 1 *Proxeny decrees published by Heath 1912–1913, 84–85, nos. I–III.* (*Archaeological Museum of Megara, inv. no. AE 134. Photo Adrian Robu, courtesy of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.*)

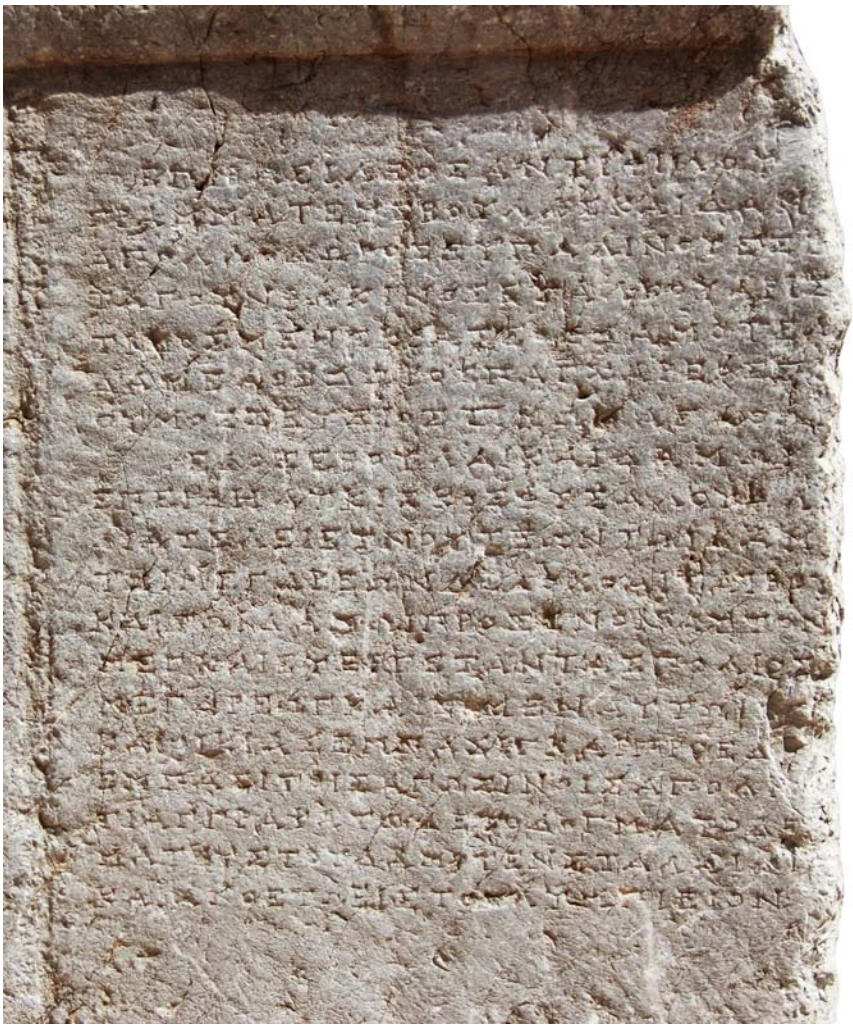

FIGURE 2 *Proxeny decree published by Heath 1912–1913, 85, no. III* (*Archaeological Museum of Megara, inv. no. AE 134. Photo Adrian Robu, courtesy of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities.*)

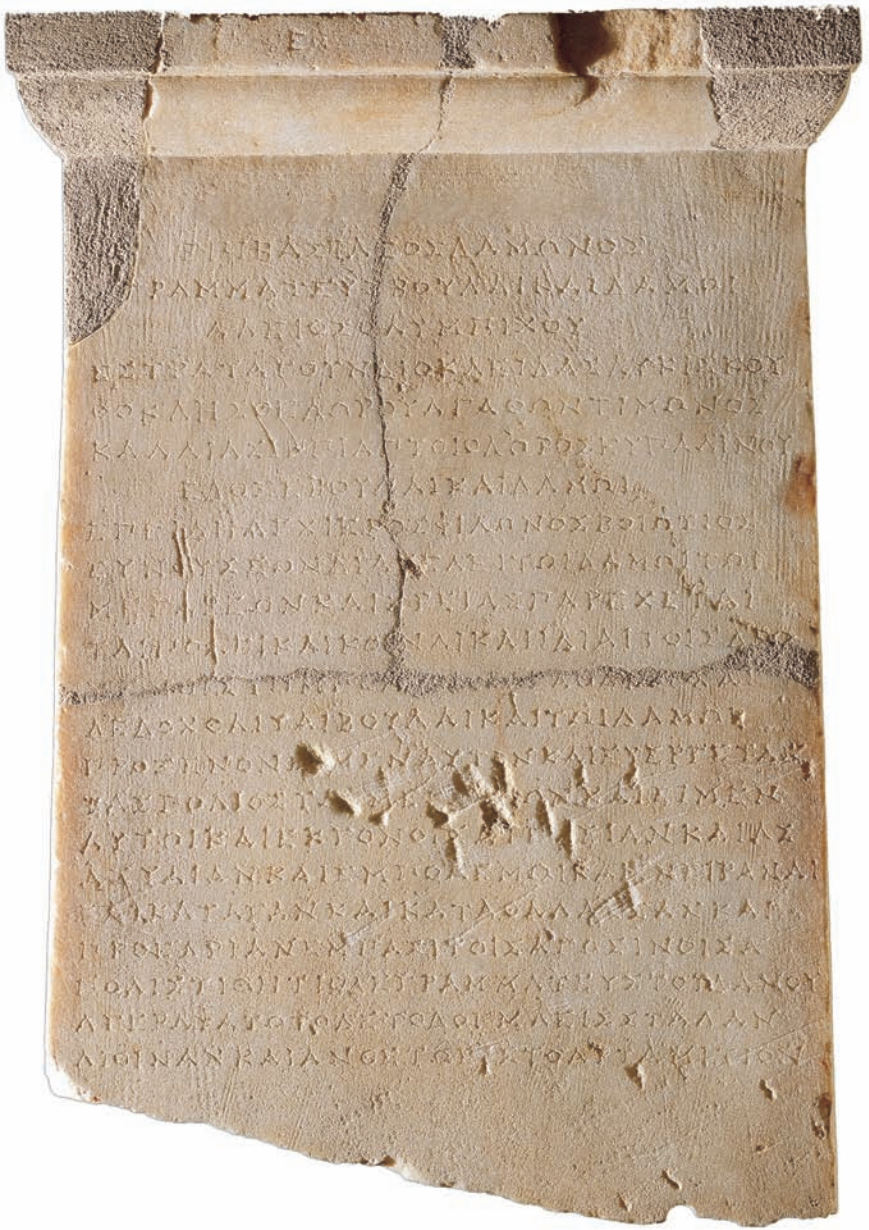

FIGURE 3 *Proxeny decree published by Kaloyéropoulou 1974, 140 (Benaki Museum, inv. no. 31185, courtesy of the Benaki Museum)*

A *Koinon* after 146? Reflections on the Political and Institutional Situation of Boeotia in the Late Hellenistic Period[1]

Christel Müller

When the Romans decided on the dissolution of the Boeotian Confederacy during the Hellenistic period in the winter of 172/1 BC, their primary aim was to reduce the Boeotians to a political life based on cities. Polybius described that aim as τὸ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν διελεῖν τοὺς Βοιωτούς ("to divide the Boeotians by maintaining them each in their own city") and contrasted it with the aspirations of the Boeotians themselves who would have preferred a collective submission of the *koinon*.[2] The dissolution amounted to an absolute dismantling of the institutional structures of the confederacy and was a response to the hostile stance adopted by several cities—Haliartos, Koroneia, Thisbe—that formed a coherent group linked by their shared traditions and common interests, as I have already shown elsewhere.[3] The Roman objective was fundamentally political and the policy that the Romans pursued corresponds to a dismemberment, a spatial disarticulation of the federal skeleton that entailed much more than the destruction of its central organs. In principle, this also affected the confederacy's territorial subdivisions or districts, the *tele*, whose existence was highlighted in the 1990s both by Denis Knoepfler[4] and Thomas Corsten.[5] Accordingly, from 172/1 onward there were no federal archons in Boeotia, no federal magistrates such as Boeotarchs, no *synedrion*, no federal assembly, no federal judicial institutions.

Under the Empire, however, we can see that a Boeotian confederacy again existed: it often acted alongside other regional confederacies at the heart of a

1 I would like to thank here Nikolaos Papazarkadas, the Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy and the Department of Classics of the University of California at Berkeley for their kind invitation to take part in the Boeotian Symposium organized in September 2011. I extend thanks to the audience of the conference for helpful comments, to the anonymous referees, and mostly to Prof. Snodgrass for his critical remarks on my paper. Any errors remain of course the author's responsibility.

2 Polyb. 27.1: cf. Appendix no. 1.

3 Müller 1996 and 2007.

4 Knoepfler 2000, 2001 and 2002.

5 Corsten 1999, pp. 38–47 (map, p. 44).

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collective qualified by sources as Achaean, Pan-achean and even Panhellenic.[6] Even if the federal archons had disappeared forever, the *naopoioi* are well attested, as are the *synedrion* and a federal seat, at the Itonion of Koroneia: this is well shown by the long epigraphical dossier of the 1st century BC concerning the benefactor Epaminondas of Akraiphia.[7] One of the essential questions for Boeotian history in the Roman era is therefore to know how things moved from the Hellenistic to the Roman Imperial confederacy and what stages there were in its resurrection after 172/1 BC.

I Context, Sources and Questions

The two centuries covered by this difficult question, that is basically the late Hellenistic period, present at the same time both historiographical and historical problems. Contemporary Boeotian history is marked by wars, which is not new, but the interests at stake go far beyond Central Greece: think first of the Achaean War, the last major war to be fought among Greeks, then of the Mithridatic War and finally of the Civil Wars of Rome. All these conflicts saw major incursions into, and levies upon, the territory of Boeotia, uprooting of its inhabitants, and diverse reorganizations. To give a brief résumé of the events that affected Boeotia, one can start by recalling that the people of Thebes, and very probably those of Thespiai and Tanagra, took the side of the Achaeans in 146 BC. This stance cost them dearly and, at least for Thebes, saw the dismantling of its walls and the disarming of its inhabitants. But above all, these cities were placed by Mummius, as Cicero notes, *sub imperium populi Romani dicionemque*.[8] That subjection, however, did not prevent an agreement being made that granted privileges to the Dionysiac *technitai* of Isthmus and Nemea (they had a branch at Thebes). A famous inscribed letter probably by Mummius has preserved the decision.[9]

The next episode occurs during the Mithridatic War, between 88 and 86 BC. While Chaironeia is occupied by the Romans, the Boeotians hesitate between an alliance with Archelaos, Mithridates' general, and the alliance that they finally form with Sulla.[10] Not all the cities come out of the war without losses

6 Cf., e.g., *IG* VII 2711.

7 *IG* VII 2711, 2712 and 2713: on this series of inscriptions, cf. Müller 1995.

8 Cic. *Verr*. 2.1.55: cf. Appendix no. 2.

9 Aneziri 2003, pp. 361–362, B6, and Le Guen 2001, I, pp. 187–188, no. 34.

10 App. *Mith*. 29.

and this is particularly so in the case of Thebes.[11] Finally, after 49 BC Greece becomes the theatre of the Civil Wars, which leads, especially during the period of Mark Antony, to serious requisitions made upon the region.[12] From 27 BC onward a governor is regularly attested as the head of a territory called the province of Achaea.[13] The precise position of the cities in these conflicts, however, is not always clear: their participation on one side or another is not always known due to the inadequacy of our literary sources.

The relevant problems are rather well-known: after 167 BC we no longer have the continuous narrative of Livy: only the summaries (*Periochae*) and some fragments survive. The situation is still worse in the case of his source, Polybius: his epitomizer has left us only a superficial allusion to the situation in Boeotia up to the Achaean War. There remain, however, Pausanias' account of the Achaean War in Book 7 of his *Description of Greece* and some scattered information in other authors such as Diodorus Siculus, Appian and Plutarch. The epigraphical documentation is therefore essential although, by its nature, it does not always allow us to date events with precision nor to link those events with others or with the process of provincialization that affected this part of the Eastern Mediterranean. The main advantage of these sources, however, is the point of view they offer: a regional perspective, peripheral in relation to the political centre that is Rome, at least in terms of power relationships. In any case, the sources we have allow us to distance ourselves from what has been, and still appears to be, the obligatory concept for some historians, namely Romanization. Instead they enable us to ask questions in Greek terms about the situation in Greece, which was in a process of substantial change.

To return to the Boeotian *koinon*, the start of my exploration is a recent article by Denis Knoepfler who, in 2008, revisited the accepted view of the date of the reappearance of the Confederacy during the late Hellenistic period.[14] On the basis of a sentence from Pausanias in Book 7[15] to which we shall soon return, the general idea has long prevailed that the Confederacy reappeared at least after the Achaean War, probably in the 140s. Contrary to this view and contrary to his own previous opinion, Denis Knoepfler has now placed the revival of

11 Although they finally decided to side with the Romans, the Thebans were deprived of half of their territory by Sulla, who thus benefited the sanctuaries at Olympia and Delphi: Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.12; Paus. 9.7.

12 As in Chaironeia: Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 68.

13 Augustus separated Macedonia and Achaea and made two senatorial provinces: cf. Sartre 1991, p. 20.

14 Knoepfler 2008a.

15 Paus. 7.16.9–10 (Appendix no. 3).

the Confederacy after the Mithridatic War, i.e. after 86 BC, based on a close reexamination of the inscriptions from Lebadeia relating to the competitions in honor of Zeus Basileus (the Basileia) in the late Hellenistic period.

If this suggestion is correct, and I shall discuss it at least in part, what happened between 146 and 86 BC? Are we to assume that the Romans were successful in restricting the Boeotians to activity within their respective cities, or should we rather see things in a less binary way (with or without a Confederacy)? The question I pose is this: what happens to an ethnic regional identity when the federal organs are removed? I shall argue that a strong memory of the previous framework was maintained at a religious level and that it ultimately allowed the Confederacy to regenerate itself, even at an institutional level. This argument also provides me with the opportunity to modify (I hope in a substantial way) the chronology of this revival.

II The Boeotian Confederacy after 146 BC

The first step requires us to understand what happened to the Boeotian confederacy after the Achaean War in 146 BC. A section in Book 7 of Pausanias, already mentioned, is particularly well known:[16] there Pausanias offers a highly condensed synthesis of the events that followed the war, but with several obvious errors or inaccuracies. Mummius, writes Pausanias, put an end to democratic governments, imposed regimes based on census qualification and placed Greece under tribute-paying status (*phoros*). He also notes that the councils (*synedria*) of each *ethnos* were suppressed, singling out the Achaean, Phocian and Boeotian confederacies, although without identifying Mummius as the author of the decision. In the same passage, Pausanias places the creation of the province of Achaea at the end of the war of the same name: according to him, the one explains the other. At present, however, it is held that the Romans did not send a regular governor to Achaea until 27 BC.[17] This obviously casts some doubt on the points made by Pausanias about the changes that were introduced after the Achaean War.

16 Paus. 7.16.9–10 (Appendix no. 3).

17 For a precise analysis of this text, cf. Ferrary 1988, pp. 200–207, according to whom "Pausanias en réalité ne savait pas quand les Romains avaient commencé à envoyer un gouverneur en Grèce, mais le nom d'Achaïe donné à la province lui parut la preuve que cela remontait à 145". Ferrary explains that ignorance with the fact that "Pausanias n'a vraisemblablement pas trouvé dans sa source (ou dans ses sources) d'indication explicite qu'une partie de la Grèce ait en 145 été placée sous l'autorité du gouverneur de Macédoine".

For some time historians had assumed that Pausanias' statement implied that the Boeotian Confederacy had been revived after the battle of Pydna around 168/7 BC and disappeared a second time after 146 BC. This argument was dismantled by Étienne and Knoepfler in 1976,[18] who argued that there had been no resurrection after Pydna and that the revival did not come about until after 146 BC. Roesch in 1982,[19] however, defended the traditional sequence and briefly dismissed the arguments put forward by Étienne and Knoepfler. It is therefore worthwhile to review this debate's central argument, which rests on the numismatic evidence.

According to Roesch, down to 146 BC, all known coins bear the title of the Boeotians, ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ.[20] Étienne and Knoepfler have shown that the coin types in question—the head of Poseidon with a laurel crown on the obverse and a Nike with a trident or only a trident on the reverse[21]—clearly evoke the Poseidon of Onchestos, federal god of the Boeotians.[22] This symbol, however, could not have been used after Rome had given Haliartos and its territory, where the sanctuary of Onchestos was located, to Athens in 169.[23] Étienne and Knoepfler therefore concluded that the coinage dates before 171. Their argument is supported by observations made by Catherine Grandjean in 1995 on the Boeotian Poseidon coinage. According to her, although "the chronology of these drachmas remains difficult to establish", they are earlier than 172/1 and perhaps even older because they are found in hoards that must date to the end of the third and the beginning of the second centuries BC.[24]

A second argument put forward by Roesch[25] to demonstrate that the Boeotian Confederacy was revived immediately after 168 BC rests on another sentence of the aforementioned passage from Pausanias: in 146, "the Acheans were

18 Étienne & Knoepfler 1976, pp. 342–347.

19 Roesch 1982, p. 294: "Rome a rapidement rétabli un κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν, sans doute après Pydna".

20 Roesch 1965, p. 71.

21 Cf. Head 1881, pp. 88–92, and Head 1911, p. 353.

22 Étienne & Knoepfler 1976, pp. 343–344.

23 Étienne & Knoepfler 1976, p. 344.

24 Grandjean 1995, pp. 9–10, who however takes issue with the iconographic argument of Étienne and Knoepfler, according to whom the crowned figure on the obverse of the coins must be Poseidon. For Grandjean, the head could well be that of Zeus (see plate p. 9). But to eliminate Étienne and Knoepfler's hypothesis, one should be able to find a relevant Zeus in Boeotia. One can only think of Zeus of Lebadeia, in whose honor the federal competition of the Basileia was held.

25 Roesch 1965, p. 71, n. 3: "jamais un béotarque n'a été un magistrat local".

equally urged into war by Pytheas who was at that time Boeotarch at Thebes."[26] This information, however, must be treated with some caution because Pytheas the "Boeotarch" was only "the head of the Theban army,"[27] as E.A. Freeman had already maintained in his 1893 book *History and Federal Government in Greece and Italy*.[28] In fact, in this passage, Pausanias time and again confuses the Boeotians and the Thebans, whereas "Thebes alone is implied in this affair as well as in the confused expeditions that it led in the same period."[29] Knoepfler even suggested in 1991 that the title of Boeotarch, with which Pytheas arrays himself, was in fact an act of defiance designed to show the Romans what the Boeotians were capable of if they were able to reunite once again.[30] As far as I am concerned, this puts too much weight on Pytheas. I prefer the idea that Polybius, the source here for Pausanias' account,[31] used the term Boeotarch to describe Pytheas because he was incapable of viewing Boeotian, or Theban, activity in any terms other than those of federal action, even though federal institutions no longer existed. In short, the use of this term is significant from a historiographical rather than a historical point of view.

As additional proof that the Boeotian Confederacy did not exist between 167 and 146 (even if this is an argument *e silentio*), we should note that Oropos appealed to the Achaean Confederacy and not to the Boeotian *koinon* during the 150s, when it decided to defend itself against the Athenians in a drawn-out conflict.[32] Indeed one would expect the Oropians to have made an appeal to their former allies if the Boeotian Confederacy still existed.

Let us now return to Pausanias. It is clear that there is an error, or, at least, that a patchwork of ideas and an overly condensed narrative resulted in the dates of the dissolutions of different federal structures being bundled up together. Such a condensing of the narrative would explain the curious use in the same passage of the pluperfect κατελέλυτο, "had been dissolved", in reference to the *synedria*. As a matter of fact, the Boeotian Confederacy had been dissolved well before the events related here for 146 BC. Therefore, as

26 Paus. 7.14.

27 Étienne & Knoepfler 1976, p. 345.

28 Freeman 1893, p. 144, n. 2.

29 Étienne & Knoepfler 1976, p. 345. On Thebes and the penalty that she had to endure, see above n. 11.

30 Knoepfler 1991, p. 268.

31 On this point, cf. Knoepfler 2004, pp. 470 and 476.

32 The conflicts between Oropos and Athens between 156 and 150 BC are known mostly through Pausanias (7.11.4), "suspect, hélas ! sur plus d'un point", as Knoepfler 1991, p. 276, rightly points out, but also through an Oropian decree for Hieron of Aigeira (*I.Oropos* 307).

Holleaux pointed out long ago, "it is wrong to imagine, by trusting Pausanias, a survival of the *koinon* between 167 and 146."[33]

So, at what date should one place the formal reappearance of the Boeotian Confederacy? Before Denis Knoepfler's seminal article on the Basileia at Lebadeia,[34] historians had been in agreement that the Boeotian Confederacy was almost certainly revived at some point in the years between 140 and 120 BC. The main foundation on which this argument seems to have rested was an inscription that recorded: the festival of the Basileia, a list of victors, and the *apologia* of the *agonothetes* (side A); the (incomplete) list of the delegations sent by the cities (side B); and the procedure which was undertaken by the *agonothetes* against his predecessor (side C).[35] The catalogue of victors mentions a Ptolemy Philopator whose identity, much discussed, has swung between Ptolemy VII (Neos Philopator) of ca. 120 BC and Ptolemy XII (Ptolemy Philopator Auletes), between 80 and 51 BC. Any choice between the two Ptolemies has now been removed, for Ptolemy Neos Philopator never existed, as Knoepfler reminds us,[36] and this inscription must therefore refer to Ptolemy XII Auletes. There would have been left in Lebadeia at the end of the 2nd century BC only the Trophonia, a local competition in honor of Trophonios. As Knoepfler has written, "it is time … to draw the inescapable conclusion that, contrary to the *opinio communis* to which I myself, along with other historians of Greece and Rome, thought it possible to adhere until recently, the new *koinon* did not exist at this date," that is at the end of the 2nd century BC. According to Knoepfler the *koinon* reappeared at the time of Sulla (around 85–80 BC) or Lucullus (75–70 BC).

While I agree with the idea that the Boeotian Confederacy did not exist before the Mithridatic War, I am further convinced that one should place the reappearance even later than this. For the main difficulty lies in the fact that, in this relatively well preserved inscription that mentions Ptolemy Philopator, and in particular in the *apologia*, there is absolutely no mention of the Confederacy nor of the *naopoioi*, the federal magistrates who later play a crucial role in the festivals of the Boeotian *koinon*. Yet, in another inscription from Lebadeia that relates to the Basileia (*SEG* III 367),[37] a document that has been somewhat

33 Holleaux 1897, p. 174, n. 1.

34 Knoepfler 2008a.

35 *IG* VII 3078, now Manieri 2009, Leb. 11, who gives almost the entire dossier. See Appendix no. 4.

36 Knoepfler 2008a, p. 1447.

37 *SEG* III 367, now Manieri 2009, Leb. 12 (see Appendix no. 5). This is a complex dossier, composed of the end of an agonistic catalogue, a warning by the appointed *agonothetes*

neglected, both the *naopoioi* and the *koinon are* mentioned. The Basileia is a festival ὃν τίθησι τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν, "that the *koinon* organizes" (l. 31). And the *naopoioi*, a body linked earlier, in the 3rd century, with the construction of the temple of Zeus at Lebadeia,[38] appear as a board of federal magistrates locally designated by the cities to represent them at the Basileia: the Thespian *agonothetes* Prokles brings his charge against the accounts of his predecessor, τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ναοποιοῖς, "before those of the present *naopoioi* who have come from the cities." The *naopoioi* are accompanied by a secretary, to whom the *agonothetes* similarly transmits his request. Their function is above all to oversee the financial activities of the festival.[39] The secretary, Antimedon of Plataea, even acts as the eponymous magistrate in the deposition of the charge made by the *agonothetes*, obviously because there is no federal archon since that magistracy was never reestablished.[40]

This observation has at least two consequences. First, the existence of a catalogue relating to the Basileia and of an *apologia* of an *agonothetes* (I am referring to the inscription mentioning Ptolemy XII[41]) is not sufficient in itself to prove the existence of the *koinon*. To put it differently, the Basileia is certainly a Panboeotian festival after the Mithridatic War, between 80 and 51 BC, but it is not yet a federal festival. Second, it is necessary to determine as precisely as possible the date of the second inscription (*SEG* III 367) in relation to the first secure epigraphic reference to the Boeotian Confederacy in the very late Hellenistic period: the Boeotian *koinon* is attested in 34/33 BC in a dedication found at Athens, a statue of M. Junius Silanus,[42] the pro-quaestor of Antony, made by a series of federal entities of which the Boeotian *koinon* is one element. In the Attic inscription the "dedicant" appears to be τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶ[ν] Εὐβοέων Λοκρῶ[ν] Φωκέων Δωριέων. How, therefore, are we to date *SEG* III 367, which also refers to the Boeotian *koinon*?

This inscription had been dated to the last third or the second half of the second century BC by all its editors and commentators since its first publication

(Prokles, son of Thebangelos of Thespiai) to his predecessor, and a letter (?) addressed by the magistrates of Thespiai to the magistrates of Lebadeia.

38 Knoepfler 1988, p. 273; see also Pitt's chapter in this volume.

39 Knoepfler 1988, p. 274.

40 Knoepfler 1988, p. 279.

41 Manieri 2009, Leb. 11: see Appendix no. 4.

42 *IG* II² 4114: cf. Appendix no. 6. Cf. *PIR*² s.v. 830. We know the date for sure thanks to inscriptions mentioning the magistrate, e.g. *IG* XII 9, 916 (Chalkis), in which there is a priest of Silanus, and through the filiation with M. Silanus, proquaestor of Asia around 84 BC and proconsul of pretorian rank in 76 BC.

by Pappadakis in 1923[43] and the reedition by Feyel in 1942.[44] This date was however challenged in an important article that appeared in 1975.[45] In a lengthy prosopographical study, Gossage examined a series of agonistic inscriptions that mentioned the resumption of festivals "for the first time after the war", i.e. after the Mithridatic War. Gossage assigned our inscription to the years 65–60 BC because of a link between the *agonothetes* Prokles son of Thebangelos of Thespiai in the inscription and a certain Thebangelos son of P[- -] (i.e., P[- - -] for P[rokles]; no ethnic preserved), listed in a fragmentary catalogue of ca. 60 BC,[46] which used to be attributed to the Thespian Erotideia,[47] but which was recently associated with the Basileia of Lebadeia.[48] The link, despite the fragmentary nature of the patronymic, seems to me conclusive. However, Gossage could not identify which of these two individuals was the father or the son. In my view, there is no objection to seeing Thebangelos, the victor of the Erotideia or Basileia of around 60 BC, as the father of the *agonothetes* Prokles son of Thebangelos of *SEG* III 367, which should then date to ca. 30 BC, a generation later than the date put forward by Gossage. Another criterion that could be used with due caution to date the inscription is the presence of two individuals bearing *nomina Romana* among the victors in the list that precedes the *apologia* of Prokles: [K]ορνήλιος Μάρκου [Ῥωμαῖος] and [Πόπλιο]ς Λικίνιος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος. The simultaneous presence of two *Rhomaioi* could push the date of the inscription towards the second part of the first century BC, because communities or groups of *Rhomaioi* are attested in Boeotia mostly in this period.[49] As for the gentilicia, it would be risky to infer from them the origin of the two individuals. *Cornelius* in particular is common. *Licinius* could well relate to M. Licinius Crassus, consul in 30 BC,[50] sent as proconsul to Macedon in 29 BC, to whom the city of Thespiai made a dedication as patron around this date.[51] Note that *Licinii* are widely attested among the Roman citizens of Athens from the 1st century BC onward.[52]

43 *AD* 8 (1923), pp. 239–240.

44 Feyel 1942, pp. 67–75.

45 Gossage 1975, pp. 123–126.

46 For the date, see Knoepfler 1997, pp. 34–35.

47 *IG* VII 1764.

48 On this new attribution, cf. Knoepfler 1997, p. 34, n. 80.

49 For instance, at Thespiai: see Müller 2002.

50 *PIR*², L, 186.l.

51 Plassart 1926, pp. 441–442, no. 78.

52 Byrne 2003, s.v. There is an exact homonym under no. 34 (Roman Imperial epitaph) who might be identical with an ephebe of 37/6 BC (no. 18): [Πόπλ?]ιος Λικίνιος Ποπλίου Σφήττιος.

In the search for other chronological indications, a final conclusive factor in favor of a late date for *SEG* III 367 seems to me to be the reference to the *naopoioi* and their secretary. This allows the inscription to be placed within a specific category, namely those inscriptions that appear at the beginning of the Imperial era, where these magistrates are attested in association with the organization of the federal *panegyris*, that is the Pamboiotia at Koroneia. There are three inscriptions that allow us to identify the structures of the *koinon* for this period. The first is the *apologia* of a secretary of the federal *naopoioi*, Nikarchos of Chaironeia, republished by Denis Knoepfler in 1988,[53] concerning a festival that the author identified originally as the Pamboiotia but more recently as a local Theban event[54] (which seems to me to be far less certain: I prefer Pamboiotia). Knoepfler has dated this inscription to the early Imperial period or even later, ca. AD 100, because of the use of the *denarius* which begins to circulate in Greece only from the time of Augustus as has been shown by Giovannini.[55] The second inscription is part of the large epigraphical dossier concerning Epaminondas of Akraiphia[56] and consists of a series of documents reporting an embassy to Caligula in AD 37. Here one reads at lines 55–56 the decision taken by the ensemble of *naopoioi* ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Παμβοιωτίων, "during the *panegyris* of the Pamboiotia". The third inscription is a catalogue of victors that almost certainly relates to the Pamboiotia, even though the name of the festival is not mentioned explicitly.[57] The festival is not specified, almost certainly because its name was known to the readers of the inscription: the stone was found in Koroneia, the city hosting the festival.

One of the consequences of the close resemblance between these three documents is, among other things, that this last agonistic catalogue (*IG* VII 2871) cannot be as old as was once thought, and that even the date proposed by Gossage (around 75 BC) is far too early. It is necessary to place it closer in time to the *apologia* of Nikarchos, at least in the second half or the last third of the 1st century BC, if not later. This seems to me to be confirmed by the appearance among the victors of a certain Aulos Kastrikios son of Aulos who certainly belongs to a family that is well attested in Thespiai at the very beginning of the

53 Knoepfler 1988: cf. Appendix no. 7.

54 Knoepfler 2008–2009, p. 702. The presence of a Theban eponymous archon is easy to explain with reference to the fact that the *epimeletes* of the *panegyria* must have been a Theban, as Knoepfler himself notices (1988, p. 280), since there is no federal sanctuary attested on Theban territory.

55 Giovannini 1978, pp. 27–29.

56 *IG* VII 2711, ll. 55–56: cf. Appendix no. 8.

57 *IG* VII 2871, with the commentary by Knoepfler 1988, pp. 275–280: cf. Appendix no. 9.

1st century AD. One can even imagine that this individual should be identified with the Aulus Castricius A. filius Modestus who appears in a Latin dedication dated precisely to AD 14.[58] There remains the problem of the secretary of the *naopoioi* and *epimeletes* of the Pamboiotia mentioned in *IG* VII 2871, Mnasarchos son of Chariton of Akraiphia. In general, he has been identified with a homonymous *rhabdophoros* (police officer) in the list of delegates of cities who were sent to the Basileia of Lebadeia,[59] whose latest possible date is 51 BC. I am of the opinion that Mnasarchos the secretary must be in fact the grandson of the *rhabdophoros*. For if we place *IG* VII 2871 about 50–60 years after the Lebadeia inscription, this will be consistent with dating Castricius to around AD 14.

Stepping back, we are beginning to see from this group of inscriptions that the Roman Imperial *koinon* is an institution with religious overtones: the Itonion becomes the seat of the organization, as Onchestos in the territory of Haliartos once was; there exists a *synedrion* of the *koinon* that is probably made up of the college of *naopoioi* assisted by a secretary—referred to as the secretary of the *synedrion*, as well as the secretary of the *naopoioi*—who can eventually serve as an eponymous magistrate; the *koinon* celebrates the Pamboiotia and, instead of the *agonothetes* of the Basileia, we find an "*epimeletes* of the *panegyris*."

Let us return now to *SEG* III 367, which seems to me to present the same "pattern" or "atmosphere" as the three inscriptions mentioning the Pamboiotia and could therefore be chronologically close to them. I would place it not necessarily in the Roman Imperial period, but somewhere around the last third of the 1st century BC. This is consistent with an allusion to the festival of the Basileia in Diodorus around 40 BC.[60] Based on this chronology, certain conclusions can be drawn: the Confederacy was probably not reestablished before the very end of the Hellenistic period and carried on without major interruption into the early Imperial period,[61] as is shown by the coherence of the documentation which can be summarized as follows:

**IG* II² 4114 (base of M. Junius Silanus)	34/3 BC
**SEG* III 367 (victors' list of the Basileia of Lebadeia)	ca. 40–30 BC
**IG* VII 2871 (victors' list of the Pamboiotia)	end of the 1st c. BC/ beginning of the 1st c. AD

58 *CIL* III 7301 (Roesch 1982, pp. 173–174).

59 Manieri 2009, Leb. 11, side B, l. 17.

60 Diod. Sic. 15.53.4: ἀφ' οὗ δὴ Βοιωτοὶ ταύτην ποιοῦσι τὴν πανήγυριν [Basileia] ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ.

61 For the *koinon* in the Imperial times, cf. Knoepfler 2012, p. 244.

**IG* VII 2711 (dossier concerning an embassy sent to Rome by the Panhellenic *koinon*)	AD 37
*Knoepfler 1988 (*apologia* of Nikarchos for the Pamboiotia)	1st c. AD

III The Affirmation of Boeotian Identity between 146 BC and the Second Half of the 1st Century BC

Let us now turn back in time, after this necessary digression. If there is no *koinon* between 171 BC and the second half or last third of the first century BC, how did the Boeotians succeed, despite everything, in affirming their regional identity between these two crucial moments? Here I am going to examine in chronological order three different agonistic festivals that seem to me to be representative of the way in which the Boeotians sought to display this regional identity. These festivals are: the Ptoia of Akraiphia, which strictly speaking is not a federal festival; the Delia of Tanagra, famously known from the accounts of the sanctuary of Apollo published in 2007 by Andreiomenou, Brélaz, and Ducrey; finally, once again, the Basileia of Lebadeia in the period before the production of *SEG* III 367.

The first dossier is that of the Ptoia of Akraiphia. The history of the festival is relatively complicated since, starting with Holleaux, successive editors of inscriptions found at the Ptoion have shown that the Ptoia went through at least three stages of organization or reorganization. A first phase falls in the years 230–225 BC, during which the city of Akraiphia, which was responsible for the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios, had its status of *asylia* recognized by the Delphic Amphictyony and perhaps may have also instituted the Ptoia. The second phase appeared at the very end of the second century BC, when the Ptoia were reorganized as a penteteric, stephanophoric and thymelic festival. A last phase can be seen at the beginning of the Empire between AD 37 and 50. Thanks to Epaminondas of Akraiphia,[62] the festival was celebrated again after a total abandonment of the competition for 30 years. The festival was then called the Great Ptoia and Kaisarea. The first and the final phases are not problematic. In the third century BC the Ptoia emerged as a local competition, but were protected by the *koinon*, and in the first century AD their restoration was made in association with the Imperial cult. But what of the second phase, the one I am interested in, at a time when federal structures had disappeared?

62 *IG* VII 2712, ll. 55–59.

The Ptoia dossier of the second century BC is composed first and foremost of seven decrees accepting participation in the festival: a decree of Orchomenos, a decree of Thisbe and five fragments from unknown cities.[63] The reorganization was convincingly dated by Feyel to 120–110 BC.[64] The lettering of the decrees of acceptance, as far as I can judge from the stones at the Museum of Thebes (fig. 1), is quite close to that of the inscription of the Delia (fig. 2), itself dated to the end of the 2nd century BC. Feyel had already noted that the two *theoroi* of Akraiphia, Pythion son of Athanias and Philomelos son of Theozotos, are known from another city decree for judges from Kleitor as the archon and the secretary respectively of a certain year, which he placed in the 140s. One further prosopographical argument is relevant: the *theorodokos* of the Thisbean decree[65] is Brochas son of Kapon who must be the son of Kapon son of Brochas whom I date to the years 160–150, or in any case after the 3rd Macedonian war (171–167).[66] In short, the date proposed in 1936 by Feyel for the reorganization of the Ptoia seems to me to remain sound: until further evidence comes to light, it must be dated to the 110s BC.

Two further inscriptions have been somewhat neglected by historians. The first is a fragmentary decree of Koroneia honoring two judges from Akraiphia,[67] Damaretos son of Antidikos and Demokles son of Andron. The decree is in dialect, using some forms from the *koine*. Damaretos' father Antidikos, himself son of an earlier Damaretos, was the secretary of the polemarchs in a military catalogue of the years 180–175 BC.[68] These indications allow us to date the Koroneian decree around the middle of the second century BC. In this decree the honors must be proclaimed ἐν τῦ ἀγῶν[ι τῶν Πτωίων], "during the festiva[l of the Ptoia]." The decree therefore predates the reorganization of the Ptoia, since the festival is not yet penteteric, which fits with both prosopography and dialect. The second document is an honorific decree for two benefactors who had given 2000 drachmas of Attic silver for the penteteric Ptoia and in particular for the *kathestiasis*, i.e. for the festival banquet.[69] This fragmentary inscription is obviously later than the reorganization of the Ptoia as a penteteric festival

63 Manieri 2009, nos. Acr. 10–13.

64 Feyel 1936, p. 27.

65 Manieri 2009, Acr. 11, ll. 31–32 (= *IG* VII 4139 + Bizard 1920, pp. 247–249, no. 9 [ll. 1–6]): cf. Appendix no. 10.

66 Migeotte 1984, no. 10 (Chorsian decree for Kapon); on the date, see Müller 2007, pp. 37–38.

67 Feyel 1942, pp. 47–50 (*IG* VII 4145 and Holleaux 1892, pp. 458–459, no. III).

68 Perdrizet 1899, pp. 196–197, no. IV, l. 4. Feyel 1942, p. 49, is mistaken in thinking that these two are the same person.

69 *IG* VII 2710 = Manieri 2009, no. Acr. 9.

and thus later than the seven decrees of acceptance, although we cannot be more precise about its date. In any case, this inscription cannot date to the mid second century BC as Manieri, the latest editor of these texts, has thought.[70]

Now what, in terms of content, do we find in these inscriptions that we might identify as a renewal of collective sentiment? The city of the Akraiphians, which explicitly organizes the festival, seeks through its ambassadors "to renew friendship and kinship (*syngeneia*) that exists between the cities, the one towards the other."[71] In a Boeotian context the word *syngeneia* would have a strong resonance indeed, which would recall the federal organization. This renewal is mediated through participation in the festival, which is of course open to those beyond the borders of Boeotia. But the festival also involves the offering of "common sacrifices as before" (συνθύειν καθὼς καὶ πρότερον).[72] In other words, in the absence of a federal framework the Akraiphians have tried to reactivate the cherished collective identity by organizing a major Panboeotian festival for which the model is the Ptoia of the late third century.

A second pattern can be seen in the accounts of the Delia at Tanagra from the late second century BC. As Brélaz showed in his historical commentary,[73] the Delia were celebrated in honor of Apollo and formed part of the festivals that had a Panboeotian, and, in this case, quasi-federal nature. The best proof of this is the presence of an *agonothetes* not from Tanagra but from Orchomenos, which also explains the recording of the eponymous archon of Orchomenos in the prescript. This linkage of the *agonothetes* and the eponymous archon becomes standard practice after 171, when the federal archon disappears for good, and can be found in inscriptions related to both the Pamboiotia and the Basileia.

However, one has to explore how the festival was organized in the absence of restored federal structures. Who made the decisions? Can we see traces of at least an embryonic form of collective decision-making extending beyond the governance of the Tanagran polis? In fact, it can be shown that the decisions were made by the cities; for in ll. 26–27 there is an expression that leaves us in no doubt that the decisions (here about buying weapons for the competition) were made by the participating *poleis*: καθὼς ἔδοξε ταῖς πόλε[σι], "as it was decided by the cities."[74] One might argue that this phrase should be taken as

70 Manieri 2009, p. 100.

71 Manieri 2009, Acr. 11, B, ll. 2–4 (*IG* VII 4139, ll. 2–4).

72 Manieri 2009, Acr. 11, B, l. 22 (*IG* VII 4139, l. 22): cf. Appendix no. 10.

73 In Andreiomenou, Brélaz, and Ducrey 2007, pp. 281–283: cf. Appendix no. 11.

74 Appendix no. 11.

referring to the individual decisions taken by each city in turn, but as the editors of this document have suggested it is much more probable that the cities made their decisions concerning the Delia using their delegates as intermediaries: either the delegates who were present for the festival or delegates called upon between two events. The *agonothetes* of the Delia was perhaps chosen by these same delegates, and I agree entirely with the restoration offered by Knoepfler for l. 31,[75] [τῶι ὑπὸ τῶν πόλεων αἱρ]εθέντι ("designated by the cities"), rather than [τῶι μετ' ἐμαυτὸν αἱρ]εθέντι[76] ("designated to succeed me"), with reference to the future *agonothetes*. There was therefore, in one way or another, a body that was constituted as an embryonic *synedrion*. Additionally, the contributions for the Delia were paid by the cities in the form of interests, as the text makes clear.

The final element that one might be able to see as suggesting something federal, both retrospective and contemporary, occurs on two occasions in the decree: the *agonothetes* must perform or oversee different actions ἐκ τοῦ νόμου (twice, ll. 18–22).[77] Brélaz prefers to see here a local Tanagran law in force, since it is Tanagra that serves as the logistical centre for the operation of the festival. Nevertheless, he draws attention to an instance in the *apologia* of Xenarchos at Lebadeia for the Basileia where a fine is imposed on the predecessor of the *agonothetes* ἐκ τοῦ νόμου.[78] One could suggest that here too a local (Lebadeian) law is invoked, since the inscription predates the resurrection of the Boeotian Confederacy. But Roesch put forward an interesting explanation, suggesting that ἐκ τοῦ νόμου might refer to an ancient pre-171 federal law that was still being applied by the organizers of the festival.[79] Roesch wondered whether the said law was peculiar to the Basileia or whether it was a federal statute concerning the *agonothesia* itself, preferring the former interpretation. I wonder now, even if my hypothesis is audacious, whether, in light of the new inscription concerning the Delia, we are dealing in both cases (Basileia and Delia) with the same law, and whether this law related to the federal *agonothesia*. One then might see here a sort of federal memory, capable of remaining in force even in the absence of formal federal structures.

As Brélaz has observed, the making of decisions "emanates not from the *koinon* strictly speaking, i.e. from federal authorities, but from the meeting

75 *BE* (2010) p. 748, no. 311.

76 Andreiomenou, Brélaz, and Ducrey 2007, p. 263.

77 Appendix no. 11.

78 Manieri 2009, Ac. 11, C, l. 8.

79 Roesch 1982, pp. 293–295.

of multiple Boeotian cities."[80] According to him, this situation was the result of a difference between the nature of the Delia on the one hand and that of the Pamboiotia and Basileia on the other. In reality, the absence of federal structures at a date as early as this, and, in particular, the absence of *naopoioi* should come as no surprise:[81] we have seen that *koinon* magistrates like the *naopoioi* are probably not attested before the last third of the first century BC.

The pattern in which cities, through the mediation of their delegates, could make collective decisions even though the *koinon* was not formally reestablished is similarly found at the Basileia. In the early Hellenistic period, and in particular at the end of the third century BC,[82] this competition was an international event, as is evinced by the origin of the victors. Nevertheless, it was organized by the *koinon*. In the first century BC, in the inscription from Lebadeia that mentions Ptolemy Philopator as a victor,[83] we find that the competition is one in which competitors from far and wide engage. The decision-making, however, still remains in the hands of the cities. So, the *agonothetes* Xenarchos son of Sokrates of Hyettos in his *apologia* (side A, ll. 20–37) explains his own acts of euergetism: he has exempted the cities (τὰς πόλεις) from their contributions (εἰσφορά) destined for the festival (ll. 23–24). Consequently, there was a potential for common financing which implicitly signifies a common treasury into which contributions would have been paid, if they had been reclaimed by Xenarchos. This common treasury is surely the treasury of Zeus Basileus, of which a fragmentary inscribed account is preserved on face C of the stone.[84] Elsewhere the same *agonothetes* explains (l. 28) that he has undertaken the inscribing of all the documents: the list of victors, the accounts, then δογμάτων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ("the decisions and the rest"). The term *dogma* is interesting because it implies a decision taken by an assembly or a council (as in

80 Andreiomenou, Brélaz, and Ducrey 2007, p. 283.

81 Andreiomenou, Brélaz, and Ducrey 2007, p. 283: "À l'inverse des *Pamboiôtia* et des Basileia, il ne semble pas que le collège fédéral des naopes soit impliqué dans l'organisation du concours des Delia. Du moins ces magistrats n'apparaissent-ils pas dans les nouveaux documents de Délion. Sans vouloir tirer argument du silence de nos sources, il se peut néanmoins que cette absence apparente des naopes au sanctuaire de Délion (…) soit révélatrice de la nature du concours, dans lequel le *koinon* joue manifestement un rôle effacé".

82 Knoepfler 2008a, p. 1440.

83 Manieri 2009, Leb. 11.

84 The text of this account is to be found only in the revision of the text given by Holleaux 1906, pp. 470–471.

the expression ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι). Here it refers to the judgment made in relation to the non-submission of accounts by Xenarchos' predecessor (who died in the middle of the action) that is written up on side C of the stone. In the absence of a federal structure, it is "the judges from the cities" ([οἱ ἀ]πὸ τῶν πόλ[εων παραγε]γονότες ἐ[γκριταὶ] τῶν Βασιλ[είων]) who deal with this affair. Having initially arrived to take charge of the hippic competition, they are now required to regulate in a collective way the financial conflicts. Who were these *enkritai*? The text does not specify,[85] but we might as well hypothesize that they came from among the delegates of the cities mentioned on side B. One can therefore put forward the idea that the time of the competition was also the time at which decisions were made. Such decisions were, if not federal, then collective at least in relation to the event itself, and included in all likelihood the nomination of the *agonothetes* for the next festival (ll. 30–31).

It remains to try to understand the mysterious sentence which comes at the end of the *apologia* (ll. 36–37): "as I have drawn by lots, concerning the *agonothesia*, the *tele* of the cities: the *telos* of Thespiai and that of Plataea." It seems then that either the *agonothetes* was chosen by lot, or the *tele* from which the *agonothetes* was to be drawn (but why two?) were thus chosen. The term *telos* is of great interest because it conjures up the territorial division in *tele* of the Hellenistic *koinon* as recently studied by Knoepfler.[86] The syntax of the phrase (τό τε Θεσπιείων καὶ Πλατα[ιέων]) could make us think that there is only one *telos* here which is made up of Thespiai and Plataea. But that is an unnatural association, because these two cities belonged to different *tele* of the Hellenistic *koinon*. We might even pause and ponder over how we should interpret *telos*: a district, a delegation, a group? However, side B of the inscription, which lists the delegates to the Basileia arranged by city, shows that the territorial organization is probably still in force: by chance a list of the members of the Kopais *telos* has been preserved. That list records representatives from Hyettos (no doubt at the beginning of the broken list), Anthedon, Akraiphia, Kopai, to whom are added the peoples of Boumeliteia and Larymna.[87] One can argue that, even though the reason for the association of the two *tele* in Xenarchos' *apologia* is not obvious, here too the memory of the

85 Robert 1960, p. 335 and n. 6, who is the proposer of the restoration ἐ[γκριταί]. According to Robert, these judges were "judges for the admission" (to the competition).

86 Knoepfler 2000, 2001 et 2002.

87 On the composition of this *telos* and the date of the inscription, cf. Knoepfler 2008b, pp. 270–272.

territorial system of the Hellenistic *koinon* has persisted beyond the dissolution of the Confederacy by the Romans in 171 BC.

Conclusion

Now for a summary on these complex questions. The chronology, as so often, is the key to understanding the institutions and their development. And as is so often the case, the inscriptions have in my view been dated too early. This is in fact a sort of constant in Boeotian epigraphy, where it is necessary to lower the date of many inscriptions. If we now review the documents that have been presented here what can we infer?

The Hellenistic *koinon*, dissolved in 171, was not reestablished in the late Hellenistic period, nor in 168, nor even in the 140s. However, after the Achean War and down to the late first century BC the Boeotians of several cities celebrated their local festivals, albeit with interruptions imposed by war. At Akraiphia, Tanagra and Lebadeia, they undertook the renewal of Panboeotian festivals based on common kinship (*syngeneia*) between the cities. In at least two cases (Tanagra and Delia; Lebadeia and Basileia), decisions concerning the festivals were made through the mediation of the delegates of cities, and the finances were also directly overseen by them. One can therefore argue that, even in the absence of a formal institutional framework, the Boiotian *ethnos* affirmed itself and knew how to display its common identity. All these festivals created the background against which a *koinon* later emerged, just before the Imperial era. Towards the end of the first century BC, the Boeotians founded a new *koinon*, which is epigraphically attested from 34/3 BC onward and which included the institutions of the *naopoioi* and their *epimeletes*. It is in fact this *koinon* that is attested in the catalogue of the Basileia (*SEG* III 367) and in the documents of the Imperial period relating to the Pamboiotia.

This process must have taken place with the agreement and even with the benevolent encouragement of the Romans who, from Mummius to Sulla, frequently promoted the religious activity of the Greeks or, at least, of those they wished to reward. Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish concrete links between the presence of the Romans and the revival of the different competitions. As several inscriptions testify, a number of local festivals were celebrated "for the first time after the war," i.e. after the Mithridatic War. Nevertheless, the precise occasion on which the Boeotian *koinon* was reborn eludes us, even if the reasons for its resuscitation are not completely obscure.

Appendix

1 *Polyb. 27.1* (*The Dissolution of the Boeotian* Koinon)

Ὅτι ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ παρεγένοντο πρέσβεις παρὰ μὲν Θεσπιέων οἱ περὶ Λασῆν καὶ Καλλέαν, παρὰ δὲ Νέωνος Ἰσμηνίας, [2] οἱ μὲν περὶ Λασῆν ἐγχειρίζοντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν πατρίδα Ῥωμαίοις, ὁ δ' Ἰσμηνίας κατὰ κοινὸν πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις διδοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν πίστιν. [3] ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἐναντιώτατον τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μάρκιον, τὸ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν διελεῖν τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς οἰκειότατον.

2 *Cic., Verr. 2.1.55* (*Mummius and the Cities after 146 BC*)

urbes Achaiae Boeotiaeque multas sub imperium populi Romani dictionemque subjunxit [*Mummius*].

3 *Paus. 7.16.9–10* (*The Aftermath of the Achaean War*)

[9] πόλεων δέ, ὅσαι Ῥωμαίων ἐναντία ἐπολέμησαν, τείχη μὲν ὁ Μόμμιος κατέλυε καὶ ὅπλα ἀφῃρεῖτο πρὶν ἢ καὶ συμβούλους ἀποσταλῆναι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων· ὡς δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυε, καθίστα δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς· καὶ φόρος τε ἐτάχθη τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ οἱ τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντες ἐκωλύοντο ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι: συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος τὰ ἑκάστων, Ἀχαιῶν καὶ τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἢ Βοιωτοῖς ἢ ἑτέρωθί που τῆς Ἑλλάδος, κατελέλυτο ὁμοίως πάντα. [10] ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον ἐτράποντο ἐς ἔλεον Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ συνέδριά τε κατὰ ἔθνος ἀποδιδόασιν ἑκάστοις τὰ ἀρχαῖα καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτᾶσθαι, ἀφῆκαν δὲ καὶ ὅσοις ἐπιβεβλήκει Μόμμιος ζημίαν· Βοιωτούς τε γὰρ Ἡρακλεώταις καὶ Εὐβοεῦσι τάλαντα ἑκατὸν καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις διακόσια ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτῖσαι. τούτων μὲν δὴ ἄφεσιν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων εὕροντο Ἕλληνες, ἡγεμὼν δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἀπεστέλλετο· καλοῦσι δὲ οὐχ Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ Ἀχαΐας ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, διότι ἐχειρώσαντο Ἕλληνας δι' Ἀχαιῶν τότε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ προεστηκότων.

4 *Manieri 2009, pp. 156–159, Leb. 11* (*The Basileia Dossier: Victors List, Apologia, Procedure against the previous* Agonothetes)

Side A

ἅρματι τελείωι
βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Φιλοπάτωρ.
Ξενά[ρχ]ο[υ] το[ῦ Σ]ωκράτους Ὑηττίου τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν Βασιλείων

ἀπολογία. λῆμμα· τῆς ἱππαφέσεως σ'· τοῦ σταδίου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ στάδιο[ν]
ξ'· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τὸ ἐκλεγὲν τῶν ὄντων ἐρήμων ἀττικοῦ ρρη'· κεφαλὴ
χαλκοῦ σξ', ἀττικοῦ ρρη'. ἀφῆκα δὲ τὰς πόλεις τὴν γινομένην
αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα εἰσφορὰν πᾶσαν· ἐδαπάνησα δὲ παρ' ἐμαυ-
τοῦ τὰ [εἰς τ]ὰς θυσίας καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀναλώματα πάντα. οὐκ ἀπε-
λογισάμ[ην] δὲ οὔτε ὑπηρέταις οὔτε ὑπογραμματεῖ οὐδὲ τῆς στήλης
τὴν κα[τασκ]ευὴν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν νενικηκότων οὐδὲ τῶ[ν]
ἀπ[ο]λο[γιῶ]ν καὶ δογμάτων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τὴν ἐνκόλαψιν· ὃ δὲ ἔλα-
βον λῆ[μ]μα, χαλκοῦ μὲν δραχμὰς σξ', ἀττικοῦ δὲ ρρη', ἀπὸ τού-
του κατ[ασκευ]άσας φιάλην ἀνέθεκα τῶι Διὶ τῶι Βασιλεῖ καὶ παρέδ[ω]-
κα τῶι μετ' [ἐμαυ]τὸν ἀγωνοθέτῃ. ἐμίσθωσα δὲ τὸν ἱππόδρομον
δραχμῶ[ν ...]ν· ἐμισθώσατο Μελησίας Ἀντιγένους Λεβαδεύς·
ἐνγυ[η]ταὶ πρὸς μέρος Δημαίνετος Ἀθανίου, Εὔβουλος Μελανθίου
Λεβαδεῖς· [κ]αὶ τὸ στάδιον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ στάδιον δραχμῶν ρκε'·
ἐμισθώσατο Ἄστων Ἀμφικρίτου Λεβαδεύς· ἐγγυητὴς Πελεκάτ[ας]
Ἐπωφέλου Λεβαδεύς· ἐκλήρωσα δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀγωνο̣θ̣[εσίας τῶν]
[πόλεω]ν τὰ τέλη· τό τε Θεσπιέων καὶ Πλατα[ιέων].

Side C

ἐζημίωσα Πλά[τω]-
να Ἀριστοκράτ[ους]
Θηβαῖον τὸν πρὸ [ἐμοῦ]
ἀγωνοθέτην δι[ὰ]
τὸ [μὴ δοῦναι ἐφ' ἑαυ]-
τοῦ τοὺς ἐκ τ[ῆς ἀγων]-
οθεσίας λόγους τ[ῶι]
ἐκ τοῦ νόμου προστίμ[ωι]
δραχμαῖς μυρία[ις καὶ]
ταύτην εἰσήγαγο[ν ἐν]
τῷ ἱππικ[ῶ]ι ἀγῶν[ι εἰς]
τοὺς ἐνκριτὰς καὶ [ἐδό]-
θη ἐπίκριμα τ[ὸ ὑπογε]-
γραμμένον· [εἰσαχθεί]-
σης τῆς κατ[ὰ Πλάτωνος]
ζημίας, ἐπέ[κριναν οἱ ἀ]-
πὸ τῶν πόλ[εων παραγε]-
γονότες ἐ[γκριταὶ]
τῶν Βασιλ[είων etc.]

5 *SEG III 367* (*Agonistic Catalogue of the Basileia at Lebadeia*)

ll. 5–6:

παῖδας παγκ[ράτιον]·
[- - - K]ορνήλιος Μάρκου [Ῥωμαῖος].

ll. 17–18:

συνωρίδι πωλικῇ·
[Πόπλιο]ς Λικίνιος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος.

ll. 21–28:

συνωρίδι τελείαι·
[Πόπλιος] Λικίνιος Ποπλίου [Ῥωμ]αῖος.
κέλητι τελείωι·
[Πόπλιο]ς Λικίνιος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος.
ἅρματι πωλικῶι·
[Πόπλιο]ς Λικίνιος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος.
ἅρματι τελείωι·
Πόπλι[ο]ς Λικίνιος Ποπλίου Ῥωμαῖος.

ll. 29–32:

[γ]ραμματ[ε]ύοντος τῶν ναοποιῶν Ἀντιμέδοντος Πλαταιέως, ἔνγραφα μ[η(νὸς)]
[Πα]μβοιω[τ]ί[ο]υ νου⟨μ⟩ηνίᾳ· Προκλῆς Θηβαγγέλου Θεσπιεύς, ὁ καθεσταμένος ἀγω-
[ν]οθέτη⟨ς⟩ ἐ[π]ὶ τὸν ἀ[γ]ῶνα τῶν Βασιλείων, ὃν τίθησι τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν, ἐμφανίζει τῷ ἀγω[ν]-
[οθ]ετήσαντ[ι] ἔ[ω]ς ἀτοῦ Τρύφωνι Θιοπείθους Πλαταιεῖ· κτλ.

6 *IG II² 4114* (*Base for the Honorific Statue of M. Junius Silanus*)

τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶ[ν]
Εὐβοέων Λοκρῶ[ν]
Φωκέων Δωριέων
Μᾶρκον Ἰούνιον
Μάρκου υἱὸν Δέκμου
υἱωνὸν Σειλανόν,
ἀντιταμίαν, σωτῆρα
καὶ εὐεργέτην
γενόμενον θεοῖς

7 *Knoepfler 1988 = SEG XXXVIII 380* (*Apologia of a Secretary of the Naopoioi*)

ll. 1–4:

ἄρχοντος ἐν Χαιρωνήᾳ Λεωνίδου,
ἐν δὲ Θήβαις Κάλλωνος· ἀπολογί-
α γραμματέως τῶν ναοποιῶν Νι-
κάρχου τοῦ Ὁμολωΐχου Χαιρωνέως

8 *IG VII 2711* (*Honorific Decrees for Epaminondas of Akraiphia*)

ll. 55–56:

ἔδοξε τοῖς σύνπα-
[σ]ι ναοποιοῖς ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Παμβοιωτίων·

ll. 69–77:

δι' ἃ δὴ
[πάντ]α ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ Βοιωτῶν, ⟨ἐπαινέσαι⟩ Ἐπαμινώνδαν ἐφ' ᾗ
[εἶχε]ν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τε καὶ εὐνοίᾳ, ἀνα-
[θεῖνα]ι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα γραπτὴν ἐν ὅπλῳ ἐπιχρύσῳ
[ἐν τῷ ν]αῷ τῆς Εἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς, τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ποιησα-
[μένου]ς τήνδε· "τὸ κοινὸν Βοιωτῶν Ἐπαμινώνδαν
[Ἐπα]μινώνδου, πρεσβεύσαντα πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Βοιω-
[τῶν ἔ]θνους κατὰ δωρεὰν πρὸς τὸν νέον Σεβαστὸν
[Καίσ]αρα Γερμανικόν, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν [καὶ εὐνοί]ας."

9 *IG VII 2871* (*Agonistic Catalogue of the Pamboiotia at Koroneia*)

ll. 1–4:

ἄρχοντος ἐν Ἀκραιφίοις Ἱππονίκου,
γραμματεύοντος τῶν ναοποιῶν
Μνασάρχου τοῦ Χαρίτωνος, τοῦ δὲ αὐτοῦ
[κ]αὶ ἐπιμελητοῦ τῆς πανηγύρεως, οἵδε ἐνείκ[ων]·

ll. 13/14:

ἵππῳ πώλῳ δίαυλον
Αὖλος Καστρίκιος Αὔλου υἱός

10 *IG VII 4139* (*Decree of Thisbe Concerning the Ptoia*)

ll. 13–22:

ἐπεὶ οὖν
[κ]αθήκει Θισβεῦσιν συντηρεῖν τήν τε πρὸς τὴν
[π]όλιν τῶν Ἀκραιφιείων φιλίαν καὶ συγγένειαν
τήν τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν καὶ συνεπαύ-
ξειν τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πτωΐων, δεδογμέ-
νον εἶναι τοῖς τε συνέδροις καὶ τῶι δήμωι Θισβέων
ἀποδέξασθαι τήν τε θυσίαν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ
ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Πτωΐων ὃν τίθησιν
ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀκραιφιέων κατὰ πενταετηρίδα, καὶ
συνθύειν καθὼς καὶ πρότερον·

ll. 31–32:

ἑλέσθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ θεωροδόκον·
εἰρέθη Βροχᾶς Κάπωνος.

11 *SEG LVII 452* (*Accounts of the agonothetes Damon concerning the Delia, Tanagra*)

Face A

Ἄρχοντος ἐν Ὀρχομενῶι Ἀγασίου, ἐν
Τανάγραι Θεοχάρους· ἀπολογία ἀγωνοθέτου Δάμωνος
Ἀρίστωνος Ὀρχομενίου· λῆμμα· παρὰ ταμίου ἐκ
τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων Θέωνος τοῦ Δαματρίχω [τ]όκος
ἀργυρίου ἀττικοῦ CΠ–XC καὶ συμμαχικοῦ ΧΞAS– καὶ
[χ]αλκοῦ ⟨Ϙ⟩H· ἄλωμα· θύματος τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι εἰς τὴν
πομπὴν τῶν θεωρῶν καὶ τὴν ἑστίασιν χαλκοῦ M· θύ-
ματος εἰς τὸν ἐξορκισμὸν τῶν τεχνιτῶν καὶ ἀθλητῶν
καὶ θεωρῶν χαλκοῦ H· v Ἀντιγένει στεφάνων δαφνίνων
χαλκοῦ C· Μύρτων[ι] ταινιῶν χαλκοῦ C· Δημητρίωι Λ . . . XO
. . . ΛΥΧΝΗΣ χαλκοῦ ΙΔ· δαῖδων χαλκοῦ B· εἰς τὴν χρύσω-
[σι]ν ἐξ στεφάνων χρυσῶν ΛH ὧν ὁλκὴ χρυσῶν [ϘΡ καὶ τὴν]
παρασκευὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀττικοῦ ΚΔ γίνεται πάντων ἀν[ὰ]
ΔΦΞ· Πίστωι ὡς ὦνος εἰς τὴν τοῦ ὅπλου τοῦ ἀριστείου πα-
ρασκευήν· ἀσήμου παροχῆς ὁλκῆς ἀττικῶν δραχμ[ῶν] AYE
καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς συμμαχικοῦ παλαιοῦ PH= καὶ τῆς χρυ-
σώσεως ΚΓ= καὶ πετάλων εἰς τὴν χρύσωσιν τοῦ ὅπλου
ΡΙΑ τοῦ πετάλου ἀττικοῦ S–XC πάντων ἀν⟨ὰ⟩ ΠΓ–XC· εἰς τὴν

ἀσυλίαν τῶν θεωρῶν καὶ ἀρχείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ
τοῦ νόμου συμμαχικοῦ παλαιοῦ Σ· Εὐκλείδηι ὑπογραμμ[α]-
[τεῖ] συμμαχικοῦ παλαιοῦ Μ· ὑπηρέταις τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου συμ-
μαχικοῦ παλαιοῦ Ν· ὅπλων ἐκκαθάρσεως τῶν εἰς τὸν ὁπλίτη[ν]
[χ]αλκοῦ Β· τραπέζης καταφορᾶς ἐπὶ Δήλιον καὶ ἀναφορᾶ[ς]
[εἰ]ς Τάναγραν ΙΕ· γυμνασιάρχοις Ταναγραίων ἐλαιοχρεί-
[στι]ον συμμαχικοῦ Σ· Μύρτωνι καὶ Θηραμένει ἐφόδιον εἰ[ς]
[Θήβα]ς ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν ὅπλων ἀγορασμὸν καθὼς ἔδοξε ταῖς πόλε-
[σι συμ]μαχικοῦ Μ καὶ εἰς Ἀθήνας Εἰράνωι καὶ Νικίαι ἀττικοῦ ΛΒ·
[κεφάλαιο]ν CΩΛΘS=XC· ἐν τούτωι ἀττικοῦ CΠ–XC καὶ
[συμμαχικο]ῦ ΧΞΑS– καὶ χαλκοῦ ϘΓ vacat
[- - - ca. 13 - - -]. .Σ στέφανον τῶν ἀνδρῶν· παρέδωκα
[- - - ca. 15 - - - αἱρ]ẹθέντι ἀγωνοθέτῃ Ἀσωπίχωι Εὐέτου
[- - - ca. 16 - - -] v παρέδωκα δὲ καὶ Τ . . ΩΝ . . Ο .
[- - - ca. 18 - - - Κ]αλλικρίτωι Διοδώρου Ἀθανίαι
[- - - ca. 20 - - - Ἀπο]λ̣λωνίου ἄγων ἀττικοῦ δραχμάς
II [- - - ca. 20 - - - παρ]ὰ ταμίου Θέωνος Δαματρ[ί]-
[χω- - -ca. 21- - - - - - - - -]]Ṭ ΩΝ τόκων πολέμαρχ[οι]
[- - - ca. 23 - - -] ἄρχοντος τόκον [ca. 3–4]
[- - - ca. 24 - - -] ϘΓ= καὶ ἐπὶ τρ[ιακο]-
[στὸν- - ca. 30 - - - - - - - - - - - -] . . . [- - ca. 7- -]
[- -]

Face B

III Πολέμαρχοι [Ἀνθη]-
δονίων οἱ ἐπὶ Ἀσκ̣[λά]-
πωνος ἄρχοντọς
τόκον ἐπ᾿ εἰκοσṭọ̀[ν]
ϘΓSXH καὶ ἐπὶ τριακ̣ọ[σ]-
τὸν ΞΒ=ΧΗ· πολέμ̣[αρ]-
χοι οἱ ἐπὶ Μνασίωνος
ἄρχοντος τόκον
ἐπ᾿ εἰκοστὸν ϘΓSXḤ
καὶ ἐπὶ τριακοστὸ[ν]
ΞΒ=ΧΗ· πολέμαρχοι
οἱ ἐπὶ Καλλίππου
ἄρχοντος τόκον
ẹ̓π᾿ εἰκοστὸν ϘΓSXH
[κ]αὶ ἐπὶ τριακοστὸν
[ΞΒ]=ΧΗ καὶ τοῦ ἐμβο-

[λίμο]ụ ZS–XỊ· πολέ-
[μαρχοι] οἱ ἐπὶ M[. . .]-
[- -] ἄ̣ρχοντο[ς τόκον]
20 [ἐπ᾽ εἰκ]οστὸν [ϘΓSXH]
[καὶ ἐπὶ τρ]ịακ[οστὸν]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

Face C
II [- - - - - - - - - - - - - ἐν] δὲ Τανάγραι Θεοχάρους
[- -]ΣΥΝΧ[- - - - - -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -].ου συμμαχικοῦ Λ.
LL. 4/5 are illegible
6 [- -] χαλκοῦ
LL. 7–13 are illegible
[- -] . . . ΩΝΞC
[- -] . . ΙΣΥΜ̣
16 [- -]
[- -]ξου ἅλωμα
[- -]τοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ.
[- -]

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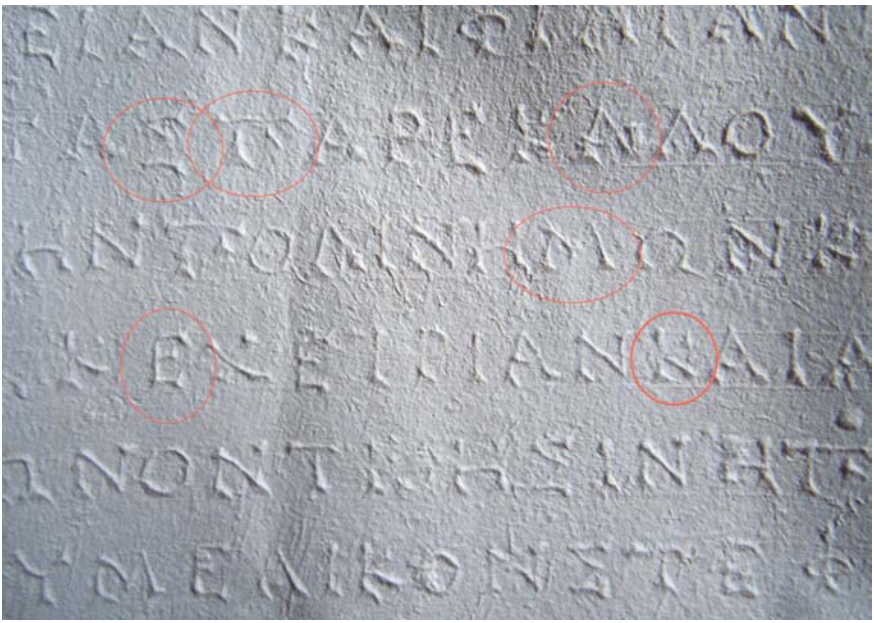

FIGURE 1 *Squeeze of Manieri 2009, Acr. 12: detail*

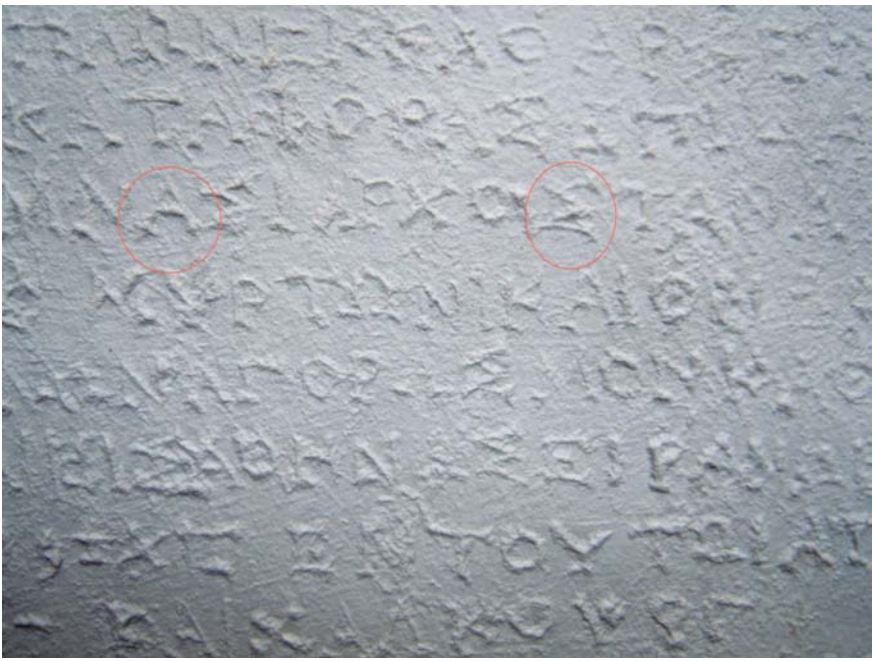

FIGURE 2 *Squeeze of* SEG *LVII 452: detail.*

SECTION II

The New Epigraphy of Thebes

∵

The Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Herakles at Thebes: An Overview[1]

Vasileios L. Aravantinos

Introduction

In 2004–2005, rescue excavations conducted in a small plot at the southeast edge of the Kadmeia revealed part of an extensive sacred precinct (*temenos*) dedicated to the cult of Herakles, his ancestors, and his descendants.[2] The excavated plot, property of the brothers I. and D. Manisalis, is located about 40 m. outside the city's walls and to the south of its principal entrance, the Elektran (Ἠλέκτραι) Gates. The sanctuary is to the left as one enters the acropolis from the southeast, coming from the direction of Plataia—like Pausanias (9.8.7) did, for instance—or from Athens, through the forts of Phyle or Panakton and the small town of Erythrai. The uncovered remains were promptly identified as pertaining to one of the most famous Theban sanctuaries, on the basis of epigraphical and archaeological evidence.

1 I would like to express my gratitude to R. Stroud and N. Papazarkadas, for their invitation to take part in the Symposium, "The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia: New Finds, New Developments," organized at the Sara B. Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy at Berkeley (September 1–3, 2011). They both offered constant support and extended to us all their warm hospitality and company, before, during and after the symposium. To N. Papazarkadas, as well as A.P. Matthaiou and Y. Kalliontzis, I am otherwise indebted for their long, illuminating discussions, keen comments, and suggestions on my modest paper, while it was still in preparation. Any remaining errors are my own. All photos are courtesy of the 9th E.P.C.A.

2 The excavation was carried out by the trench supervisors E. Kourouni, E. Papakosta, and especially D. Oikonomou. To all of them I express my sincere gratitude. I have offered a preliminary report on the excavation in V. Aravantinos 2001–2004, pp. 132–136. Another report is forthcoming in *AD* 2005. Brief accounts have also been published in the Athenian and local press. See also V. Aravantinos 2009a. Lectures on the excavation were delivered in London (King's College, Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1/11/2007), Athens (National Archaeological Museum, 10/2/2007, and Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art, 4/4/2011), and Thebes (The European Day of the Museums, 17/5/2012). The Archaic sculptures from the Herakleion have now been published by Bonanno-Aravantinos 2012b. Papers on various other aspects of the excavation and its finds (topography, architecture, bronzes, pottery) by V. Aravantinos, M. Bonanno-Aravantinos and K. Kalliga are forthcoming (see bibliography). Archaeometrical studies were resumed in collaboration with Prof. N. Zacharias, D. Oikonomou, et al.

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FIGURE 1 *Aerial photo of Thebes*

Topography

The prominent sacred character of the investigated area and its surroundings was confirmed by the discovery of a complete system of religious establishments, cult devices, and other sacrificial equipment. The most important sanc-

tuaries located in the area were those of Herakles Promachos, protector of the city,[3] of Apollo Ismenios, and of Athena Pronaia.[4] Previously, their location could only be approximately conjectured on the basis of random information surviving in literary sources and topographical studies based mostly on scanty remains.[5]

Pausanias visited and described Thebes in the second half of the 2nd century AD, when it had already lost its previous glory and power. The ongoing decline had considerably reduced the city's size, which was limited to its citadel. Nevertheless, Thebes had kept most of its numerous sanctuaries and had preserved many features of antiquarian interest.[6] For this reason, Pausanias was able to devote more attention to the monuments, sights, and history of Thebes' acropolis (the Kadmeia) than he did for most other contemporary Greek cities, which in his time were much more politically significant. His preferential treatment of Thebes is certainly due to its primary role in the development of Greek culture and to its vigorous mythical and historical past.[7]

Although Pausanias visited and described Herakles' *temenos*, the oldest mention of it can be found in Pindar's ode for a Theban athlete who was victorious in the Panhellenic games at the Isthmia.[8] Passing references to the aforementioned sanctuaries, especially that of Apollo Ismenios, can also be found in Herodotus' *Histories*. Other scattered information about the sanctuaries, as well as *heroa* and even sepulchral monuments (*tumulus*, *polyandrion*)

3 On Herakles as protector of Thebes see Schachter 1986, s.v., with references to ancient literary evidence, inscriptions, and coinage; Pharaklas 1996, p. 77; Moggi and Osanna 2010, pp. 281–287. On the topography of the sanctuary, see Pharaklas 1996, pp. 58 ff., 64 ff., and *passim*. In general, on Herakles' cult see Arvanitaki 2006 (with up-to-date bibliography).

4 The name of the hill and the epithet of the homonymous god derive from the river Ismenos (Paus. 9.9.2; 9.10.2; 9.10.2–5). See the comments in Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 34–79; Papachatzis 1981, pp. 80–85; Pharaklas 1996, p. 33 and *passim*; Moggi and Osanna 2010, pp. 274–276. Full discussion of the sanctuary, literature, and excavations, and keen observations on divinities venerated at the Ismenion, are found in Schachter 1981, pp. 59–60, 79 (Athena Pronaia), 77–88 (Apollo Ismenios). Athena Pronaia is attested at the Ismenion in an Archaic votive inscription, and appears at about the same time at Mount Ptoion with the same epithet.

5 Excavations at or south of the Ismenion, Elektran Gates, Aghios Loukas or Old Civic Cemetery, fortifications, etc.: Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 6–79; Symeonoglou 1985, *passim*; Pharaklas 1996, *passim*. More recent research is found in *AD* 56–59 (2001–2004) B2 [2011] pp. 132 ff.

6 Paus. 9.7.6. On Pausanias' historic and artistic background, see Arafat 1992; Arafat 1996; Moggi and Osanna 2010, *passim*.

7 See Angeli Bernardini 2000. For a full commentary on Pausanias' passages on Thebes, see Papachatzis 1981; Pharaklas 1996, pp. 33, 35, 40, 42, 174; Moggi and Osanna 2010.

8 Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4, often treated as one poem, were probably composed around 470 BC.

located in the same area, near the *Koile hodos*,[9] can be derived from plays of the Athenian tragedians,[10] from later Greek and Latin writers, and finally from the *scholia* to the ancient texts.[11]

Modern scholars with few exceptions have neglected the two most prominent urban sanctuaries of Thebes.[12] Archaeological digs conducted in the beginning of the 20th century revealed scanty remains of foundations belonging to a large temple at a distance of approximately 250 m. southeast of the citadel. It stood on the top of a low hill, beside the river Ismenos, occupying an area that had previously served as a Mycenaean cemetery. The remains were ascribed by the excavator, A. Keramopoullos, to the temple of Apollo Ismenios.[13] According to his interpretation, most of the visible foundations belonged to the third and last phase of the temple, which was chronologically related to the battle of Leuktra (371 BC).[14]

At the southeast edge of the Kadmeia, in parallel with his excavations on the hill of the Ismenion, Keramopoullos identified the sturdy foundations of two round towers, known ever since as the towers of the Elektran Gates.[15]

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9 Strophia or Chrysorhoas was the stream flowing along the east slope of the Kadmeia on its way to Lake Yliki. See Pharaklas 1996, pp. 4, 18, 20, 62, 113, 129, 137; on the *Koile hodos* (Hollow Way), Pharaklas 1996, pp. 62, 64, 78, 174; on the topography of this area Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 312–337; Pharaklas 1996, pp. 33–57.

10 Keramopoullos 1917, p. 362, and especially 435–463; Schachter 1986.

11 See e.g. the *Scholia vetera* on Pindar's poems in Drachmann (ed.) 1903–1927; the reliability of this specific literary tradition has often been questioned.

12 On their topography, see more recently Pharaklas 1996, pp. 33–83, with many new proposals and all the earlier bibliography. The observations of Schachter 1981, pp. 30–31; 77–85; idem 1986, pp. 14–30 are still useful.

13 See Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 34–79, 317–325; Pharaklas 1996, pp. 33–81; Moggi and Osanna 2010, 274–276.

14 Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 37 ff.; cf. 312–337. See also Schachter 1981, pp. 77–85, especially 81. According to Pharaklas 1996, p. 46, the excavated temple belonged to Athena Ismenia or Pronaia. He believes that the Classical temple of Apollo was closer to Ismenos but trial excavations to the east of the hill have not revealed any traces of it. Following preliminary investigations and mapping, a geophysical survey of the area (2010, 2011) was resumed in 2011. The survey, a collaborative Greek-American project (2012–2016), under the direction of Dr. A. Charami (9th EPCA) and Professors S. Larson and K. Daly (Bucknell University), is scheduled to last five years.

15 On the Elektran Gates (πύλαι Ἠλέκτραι): Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.61–64, and Paus. 9.8.4, 9.8.7, with Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 6–24, 312–337; Symeonoglou 1985, pp. 32–38; Pharaklas 1996, pp. 33–81; Moggi and Osanna 2010, pp. 269–273. It is hoped that the new Greek-American geophysical investigation (see footnote above) will elucidate old questions regarding the

In the following years, several Archaic inscriptions on column drums, mostly dedications to Apollo, were collected in the area between the Ismenion, the Elektran Gates and the church of the Virgin Mary at Loggia, which is thought to occupy the site of a medieval cathedral. These finds could have reached the eastern part of the citadel in different periods, since they were mostly reused as building material.[16]

In one of his most abstruse passages, Herodotus (5.57–61) mentions three tripods that he himself had seen set up in the temple of Apollo. Each of them was inscribed with an epigram, in what Herodotus considered a very archaic script.[17] Old and odd-looking letterforms were usually attributed to Kadmos and to his Phoenician entourage, who, according to a well-known tradition, had introduced the alphabet into Greece from the East.[18] One of the tripods is said to have been dedicated by Amphitryon, the stepfather of Herakles, upon his return from a victorious campaign against Pterelaos, the king of the mysterious Teleboans.[19] To the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios is often attributed a bronze inscribed statuette of the god—the famous "Mantiklos Apollo," now in Boston's

topography and chronology, access and building history of the neighboring sanctuaries and the Elektran Gates.

16 For this older material, see Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 35ff.; Pharaklas 1996, pp. 33–57; Lazzarini 1976, no. 116, pp. 194ff.; no. 117, p. 195. From the area of the Ismenion comes also another fragment of a small poros column, for which see the appendix below. For another related metrical inscription (Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 40993), found built into a Byzantine building on Amfionos Street, see N. Papazarkadas in this volume.

17 Hdt. 5.57–61; cf. Pind. *Pyth*. 11.4–5, and fr. 52g.3. On epigrams in Pausanias see Chamoux 2001, esp. p. 84 for Boeotia, and now Zizza 2006.

18 For a recent general overview see Kourou 2012, pp. 33–51 (with full bibliography). The so-called Cadmean or Phoenician letters (καδμήια or φοινικήια γράμματα) were inscribed on archaic dedications stored in the temple. Herodotus' text betrays anachronism. There is no reason for us to see oriental (i.e. Semitic) writing or Linear B script in the Cadmean letters. The inscriptions could have been perceived as archaic, in that they would have been written retrograde, dating presumably to the 7th–6th centuries BC. Cf. also Schachter 1981, p. 82.

19 Schachter 1981, pp. 80, 82. The epigram on this tripod was closely connected with both Amphitryon and Herakles: Hdt. 5.57–61, Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἷς τῶν τριπόδων ἐπίγραμμα ἔχει· Ἀμφιτρύων μ' ἀνέθηκε θεῷ ἀπὸ Τηλεβοάων. Several older dedications are mentioned in both Pind. *Pyth*. 11.4–5 and Hdt. 1.52 (with Schachter 1981, p. 80, and now Papazarkadas in this volume). Even Pausanias was able to report some surviving dedications in the 2nd century AD, including one dedicated by Amphitryon to Herakles (Paus. 9.10.4). And another legendary dedication by Amphitryon consisted of two stone statues of Athena Ζωστηρία (Paus. 9.17.3).

Museum of Fine Arts—but the provenance is hypothetical. This statuette is usually placed in the first half of the 7th century BC.[20] Its inscription reads: Μάντικλός μ' ἀνέθεκε ϝεκαβόλοι ἀργυροτόξοι | τᾶς {δ}δεκάτας· τὺ δέ, Φοῖβε, δίδοι χαρίϝετταν ἀμοιβ[άν].

To the same early historical and religious context belongs the neighboring sanctuary of Herakles, with the mythical house of Amphitryon and the chamber of Alkmene. Pindar and Pausanias both mention public festivals, and the excavations have proved the reliability of their information.[21] Pausanias quotes an alleged epigram, which according to the local antiquarians once stood in the area of the ruins that they identified as belonging to Amphitryon's house.[22] Pausanias was also told about Alkmene's bed chamber (*thalamos*), which matched those of Semele and Harmonia, allegedly built by Trophonios and Agamedes, although the traveler himself was somewhat doubtful about this tradition.[23]

The Excavation

The excavation of the Manisalis building plot in 2004–2005 permitted the identification of part of an enclosure (*peribolos*) as well as the remains of two columns *in situ*, forming a kind of monumental entrance or probably representing the façade of a house (*oikos*). In its interior, archaeologists found the remains of another precinct forming a corner to its west. The two *periboloi* were built almost exclusively of *spolia*, mostly architectural members and sculpture pieces from earlier building phases of the sanctuary. Both precincts were intended to limit and define a tomb-like pit, a kind of cenotaph found partially covered with large limestone slabs.

It now appears that the cult of Herakles and his family was established there, just outside the principal gate of the city, at an early period, no later than the

20 On the "Mantiklos Apollo" statuette, see Lazzarini 1976, p. 290, no. 795; Papachatzis 1981, p. 80. See more recently Kaminski 2002, p. 76, pl. 145a – d (first half of the 7th c. BC); and on the text Colvin 2007, pp. 101–102, no. 12.

21 On sixth-century BC Boeotia, see Schachter 1989; on Archaic Boeotia see also Larson 2007; Aravantinos 2010, pp. 145–156. On Boeotia in Pausanias' times, see Arafat 1992; Bonanno Aravantinos 2012a.

22 Paus. 9.11.1–2 is probably a tale told to the traveler by his informants. See Chamoux 2001, p. 84; cf. Schachter 1986, pp. 22–23. The text runs as follows: Ἀμφιτρύων ὅτ' ἔμελλ' ἀγαγέσθαι δεῦρο γυναῖκα | Ἀλκμήνην, θάλαμόν γ' ἐκλέξατο τοῦτον ἑαυτῷ· | Ἀγχάσιος δ' ἐποίησε Τροφώνιος ἠδ' Ἀγαμήδης.

23 Paus. 9.11.1–2.

second half of the 8th century BC.[24] It was probably centered around a common grave or a cenotaph for the eight heroes who, according to Pindar and his scholiasts, were the sons of Herakles and the Theban princess Megara, Kreon's daughter. They were either killed at war or treacherously put to death by the powerful enemies of their father.[25] Pindar, who probably preserves an informed Theban tradition on this subject, implies clearly that they were the recipients of the offerings and sacrifices just outside the Elektran Gates.[26]

Albert Schachter is certainly right to argue that Herakles, and perhaps his presumed predecessor, was a champion (*promachos*) whose sanctuary was built just outside the principal gate of the city.[27] He was associated with a group of heroes, or rather heroized dead warriors, whom the Thebans considered his sons by Megara. The Canadian scholar believes that the predecessor of Herakles at Thebes was probably Iolaos, who accordingly would have been the original leader of the warrior group cult outside the Elektran Gates.[28] Iolaos was not a foreigner at Thebes. According to Pindar, he had his tomb not far from Herakles' "courtyard," sharing with Amphitryon a common tumulus (Pind. *Pyth*. 9.81–83).[29] The latter was somewhere in the interior of the *temenos*, perhaps not far from the ruins of Herakles' paternal home or close to his Archaic temple. I suppose that it could be somewhere between the city's walls and the so-called Σ.Φ.Ε. hill.[30] I assume that somewhere on this low hill, now leveled, once stood the temple of Herakles, which was presumably refurbished after the battle of Plataia and which may have even survived the destruction of Thebes in 335 BC.[31] According to the aforementioned interpretation, Herakles' children were once local heroes, possibly dead warriors receiving cultic honors in the

24 Cf. Schachter 1986, pp. 14–31. There is good evidence for roughly contemporary cultic activity in Thebes (Apollo Ismenios, Demeter Thesmophoros), and in Boeotia (Ptoon), as well as in Eleusis, Thermos, and Kalapodi (Hyampolis or Abai) in Central Greece.

25 According to Drachmann 1927, pp. 236–237.

26 Pind. *Isthm*. 3/4. See the exhaustive discussion in Pharaklas 1996, pp. 58–79; Schachter 1986, pp. 14–30.

27 Schachter 1986, pp. 14–30, esp. 17. Cf. Schachter 1981, pp. 167–168: "To the Thebans, Demeter was the goddess of the polis …" or, better, a "déesse acropolitaine."

28 Schachter 1986, pp. 17–18, 64–65; Pipili 1990.

29 Pind. *Nem*. 4.22–24, Ἡρακλέους ὀλβίαν πρὸς αὐλάν.

30 Σ.Φ.Ε. is short for Σύλλογος Φιλοπροόδων "Επαμινώνδας."

31 On the evidence of building material (bases for votive stelai, sculpture), one could assume that at least one Archaic temple was located near the Elektran Gates. It is difficult to say whether the traditions concerning the origin of the Macedonian royal family would have prevented Alexander from destroying the old temple.

same area, much earlier than Herakles. On the other hand, Herakles himself, because of his apotheosis, did not have a tomb in Thebes or elsewhere, although the Thebans always considered him a hero, their champion, rather than a god.[32]

Among the monuments mentioned by Pindar just outside the Elektran Gates (*Isthm.* 3/4.79, Ἀλεκτρᾶν ὕπερθεν) there were some altars (βωμοί).[33] Indeed two monolithic rectangular altars—one stepped, and another equipped with a cavity for the collection of blood from sacrificial victims—came to light in the eastern part of the plot. Adjacent to these altars lay at least two *escharai*, one large and one smaller. The first *eschara* had been gradually extended to contain ashes produced from the burnt remnants of sacrificial animals. The area between the sacrificial altars, the *escharai*, and the *periboloi* was open, and it contained a sacred well, whose water was presumably used for rituals taking place in the sanctuary.[34] All in all, the excavated remains are in agreement with the pieces of information offered by Pindar.[35]

The discovery of several dedications further secures the sacred character of the site. Some of them, in particular two small bronze statuettes of Herakles, contributed decisively to identifying him as the principal recipient of cult.[36] The first statuette represents the hero strangling the Nemean lion, whereas the second represents him in another labor, with his (now missing) club and bow.[37] Several vases bear representations of heroes, naval operations, and even the episode of Herakles with Deianeira and Nessos.[38] The miscellaneous dedica-

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32 Schachter 1986, pp. 14–30, esp. 17. Alkmene had no tomb according to Paus. 9.16.7: cf. Schachter 1986, 24.

33 Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4.79–90, νεόδματα στεφανώματα βωμῶν.

34 The sacred well was discovered in the I. Sarakostianos building plot in 1974: see *AD* 29 (1973–1974) *Chronika* B2 [1979], pp. 427–428, 439. The same limited excavation produced a bronze statuette of Herakles, for which see note **36** below. Other material, including several aryballoi, were clearly related to sacrificial practices.

35 By this time the Thebans had arguably rebuilt the ruined altars close to the gates, after their alleged destruction in the nineteen-day siege that followed the battle of Plataia, according to Hdt. 9.86–89; cf. Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 289–290.

36 As far as one can understand from the Sarakostianos' plot excavation report (note 33 above), the dig, especially the cleaning of the well, was incomplete, and for that reason the finds were never identified as belonging to Herakles' temenos, or to any sanctuary.

37 See Aravantinos 2010, pp. 377 and 162 respectively. There is also a Late Archaic or Early Classical (about 470 BC) statuette of an athlete similar to the one found in Kalapodi (Abai?) in Lokris. The bronze statuettes have been studied and will be published by M. Bonanno-Aravantinos (forthcoming).

38 Aravantinos 2010; Aravantinos forthcoming.

tions include a bronze disc, a small tripod,[39] an inscribed miniature box of a chariot,[40] several aryballoi, and a great number of unpolished cooking pots. These were used to prepare food or liquids for consumption and/or libations in the overnight sacrifices in honor of the demigod and the eight dead heroes, the alleged sons of Herakles and Megara.[41]

Fragmentary pieces of stone sculpture dating to the Archaic period were recovered in secondary use, having been built into the walls and pavements of the sacred precincts.[42] Additionally, a fragment of a bearded head, which was once probably attached to a wooden statue (*xoanon*) of Herakles, with hands, feet and head made of terracotta, was recovered from the packed earth fill between the two ash altars.[43]

The Inscriptions

Within this framework of data testifying to the cult of Herakles and his role in the religious and social life of early Thebes, a most significant place belongs to the newly discovered inscriptions, which can be preliminarily classified in three basic categories (I–III), according to the material on which they were carved. First, there are seventy vase inscriptions (see catalogue I, below), most of which define the vessels in question as dedications to Herakles.[44] This category comprises both painted (*dipinti*) and incised (*graffiti*) inscriptions. Almost all the vase inscriptions presented below belong to the 6th century BC, with exceptions as noted. Second, there are three inscriptions on metal (see II, below), and third, there is a fragmentary marble stele (see III, below).

39 For real tripods associated with Apollo Ismenios and Herakles at Thebes see Schachter 1981, pp. 82–83. On tripods see in general Papalexandrou 2005 and 2008.

40 See below, pp. 196–199.

41 Pind. *Isthm.* 3/4, with Drachmann 1927.

42 See M. Bonanno-Aravantinos, 2012b.

43 Briefly mentioned by Aravantinos 2010, this fragment is now being studied by Prof. Bonanno.

44 There is no [Με]γάρα among the vase inscriptions, as reported *per errorem* in Aravantinos 2010. No other names of recipients occur except that of Herakles.

I *Inscribed Potsherds from the Theban Herakleion Inventory*

1a) Inv. no. 46845. Thebes, Manisalis plot (found April 21, 2005). Pottery group 304 (henceforth "pott. gr."). Letter height (henceforth "l.h."): 0.011–0.012 m. Dipinto on a yellowish-ground sherd

[- - -]NỊ[- - -]
[ἀνέ]θεκε[ν]

FIGURE 2 *Inscribed sherd no. 1a*

See Aravantinos 2010, p. 149. A date in the 7th century BC is likely for this sherd, which may belong to the same large vase as 1b, although there is no join between the two.

1b) Inv. no. 46853. Thebes, Manisalis plot (April 29, 2004). Section III; pott. gr. 77. L.h. 0.012–0.013 m. Dipinto, possibly from the same vase as 1a.

[τὸρ]ᾳκλέ[ει]

FIGURE 3 *Inscribed sherd no. 1b*

2) Inv. no. 46854a–b. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 4, 2005). Section V; pott. gr. 89+215. L.h. 0.033–0.035 m. Two fragments of the rim of a lebes with a retrograde dipinto. One vertical handle is partly preserved. Perhaps late 7th cent. BC.

FIGURE 4 *Inscribed sherd no. 2*

[- - - τὸρ]ακλέει ἀγ̣[έθ]εκε̣[ν] ←

See Aravantinos 2009b (ph.); Aravantinos 2010, p. 149 (ph.).

3) Inv. no. 46858a–b. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Sections I–II; pott. gr. 103. Height 0.05 m (henceforth "h."); width 0.047 m (henceforth "w."); l.h. 0.015–0.016 m. Two non-joining fragments from the rim of a pot. Decoration of running spiral and triangles; retrograde dipinto.

[- - - τὸρακ]λέει ἀ[νέθεκεν?] ←

FIGURE 5 *Inscribed sherd no. 3*

According to Mrs. K. Kalliga the pot is a lebes or krater; the decoration may suggest a date in the 7th century BC. This date is compatible with the letter forms and the orientation of the inscription; cf. Aravantinos 2010, p. 149.

4) Inv. no. 46878. Thebes, Manisalis plot (April 30 and May 6, 2004). Section V; pott. gr. 79+94. H. 0.083 m; w. 0.154 m; l.h. 0.021–0.025 m. Two joining fragments of a black-glazed lebes or krater. Retrograde dipinto below the rim. Possibly 7th century BC.

FIGURE 6 *Inscribed sherd no. 4*

[- - -]EE ḥ[ε]ρακλέ[ει?] vel ϯ[ο]ρακλέ[ει?]←

5) Inv. no. 46885. Thebes, Manisalis plot (October 29, 2004). Section XII; pott. gr. 293. L.h. 0.013 m. Graffito on a sherd of a black-glazed kantharos.

[h]ερ[ακλέει?] or [- - -]EẎ[- - -]

FIGURE 7 *Inscribed sherd no. 5*

The three parallel strokes of epsilon lean downwards: this trait and the letter's tail suggest an early date (7th cent. BC?).

6) Inv. no. 46894. Thebes, Manisalis Plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.033 m; w. 0.043 m; l.h. 0.004–0.007 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[ὁ δεῖνα ? ἀνέθεκε]ν̣ τὸρ[ακλέει]
vel sim.

FIGURE 8 *Inscribed sherd no. 6*

Only a trace of a possible N. See also Aravantinos 2010, p. 149.

7) Inv. no. 46842. Thebes, Manisalis plot. H. 0.032 m; w. 0.038 m; l.h. 0.005–0.006 m. Graffito below the rim of a fine black-glazed kantharos.

[ἀνέθεκ]ε τὸρα[κλέει]

FIGURE 9 *Inscribed sherd no. 7*

For a preliminary publication, see Aravantinos 2010, pp. 148–149 (ph.), but the reading suggested there should be abandoned.[45]

45 See note no. 43 above.

8) Inv. no. 46896. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.034 m; w. 0.032 m; l.h. 0.009–0.011 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[τ]ὸρακλ[έει]

FIGURE 10 *Inscribed sherd no. 8*

See also Aravantinos 2010, p. 149 (ph).

9) Inv. no. 46898. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 23, 2004). Section II, div. A1, B1, Γ1; pott. gr. 27. H. 0.026 m; w. 0.025 m; l. h. 0.006–0.009 m. Graffito under the rim of a kantharos.

τὸρ[ακλέει]

FIGURE 11 *Inscribed sherd no. 9*

10) Inv. no. 46873. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 15, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 19. H. 0.036 m; w. 0.043 m; l.h. 0.006–0.011 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[τὸ]ϱακλέ̣[ει]

FIGURE 12 *Inscribed sherd no. 10*

Alternatively [hε]ϱακλέ̣[ος]. I can see the tip of the tail of rho, and traces of the vertical of epsilon.

11) Inv. no. 46884. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 16, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 20. H. 0.028 m; w. 0.030 m; l.h. 0.005–0.007 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

[τὸ]ρακλ̣[έει]

FIGURE 13 *Inscribed sherd no. 11*

Alternatively [hε]ρακλ̣[έος].

12) Inv. no. 46852. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Pott. gr. 14. H. 0.036 m; w. 0.029 m; l.h. 0.006–0.007 m. Graffito on a black-glazed kantharos sherd.

FIGURE 14 *Inscribed sherd no. 12*

τὸρακ[λέει]

Cf. Aravantinos 2010, p. 149.

13) Inv. no. 46863. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 23, 2004). Section II; pott. gr. 27. H. 0.023 m; w. 0.032 m; l.h. 0.007–0.008 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

FIGURE 15 *Inscribed sherd no. 13*

[τὸ]ρακλ.[έει]

14) Inv. no. 46861. Thebes, Manisalis plot (October 27, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 292. H. 0.096 m; w. 0.10 m; l.h. 0.016–0.017 m. Graffito below the rim of a large black-glazed kantharos.

[τ]ὸρακλῖ

FIGURE 16 *Inscribed sherd no. 14*

For the form of the dative, cf. Andreiomenou 2007, p. 31 no. 1.

15) Inv. no. 46864. Thebes, Manisalis plot (September 29, 2004). Section XII (NE, Wall 16); pott. gr. 237. H. 0.015 m; w. 0.031 m; l.h. 0.012 m. Graffito on a kantharos (?) sherd.

FIGURE 17 *Inscribed sherd no. 15*

[- - -]ϱα vac.? or [- - -τὸ]ϱα|[κλῖ?]

16) Inv. no. 46890. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.031 m; w. 0.058 m; l.h. 0.010–0.013 m. Graffito on a black-glazed kantharos (?) sherd.

hε(ρακλέος)

FIGURE 18 *Inscribed sherd no. 16*

See Aravantinos 2010, p. 149 (ph.).

17) Inv. no. 46887. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.035 m; w. 0.029 m; l.h. 0.009 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

ḥερᾳ[κλέος]

FIGURE 19 *Inscribed sherd no. 17*

See Aravantinos 2010, p. 149 (ph.).

18) Inv. no. 46926. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 30, 2004). Section II; pott. gr. 30. H. 0.029 m; w. 0.024 m; l.h. 0.013 m. Graffito on a black-glazed kantharos sherd.

[h]ερᾳ[κλέος]

FIGURE 20 *Inscribed sherd no. 18*

One can discern the tips of two horizontal strokes of epsilon, and the left stroke of alpha.

19) Inv. no. 46871. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Pott. gr. 304. H. 0.022 m; w. 0.034 m; l.h. 0.020 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

[h]ερ[ακλέος]

FIGURE 21 *Inscribed sherd no. 19*

Only the middle horizontal of epsilon survives.

20) Inv. no. 46847. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 18, 2004). Section II, div. A2, A3, A4, B2, B3, B4, Γ2, Γ3, Γ4, Δ3, Δ4; pott. gr. 23. H. 0.061 m; w. 0.061 m; l.h. 0.018–0.019 m. Large graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[hεραϰ]λέο[ς]

FIGURE 22 *Inscribed sherd no. 20*

21) Inv. no. 46910. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 23, 2004). Section II, div. A1, B1, Γ1; pott. gr. 27. H. 0.023 m; w. 0.028 m; l.h. 0.009 m. Graffito below the rim of a black-glazed kantharos.

hε̣ρ[ακλέος]

FIGURE 23 *Inscribed sherd no. 21*

22) Inv. no 46880. Thebes, Manisalis plot (April 7, 2005). Section VII; pott. gr. 333. H. 0.028 m; w. 0.034; l.h. 0.005 m. Graffito on a black-glazed sherd with traces of thin purple bands.

[ηερακλ]έος ?

FIGURE 24 *Inscribed sherd no. 22*

23) Inv. no. 46909. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 23, 2004). Section II, div. A1, B1, Γ1; pott. gr. 27. H. 0.026 m; w. 0.026 m; l.h. 0.006–0.008 m. Graffito below the rim of a black-glazed kantharos.

ηιαρ[ός]

FIGURE 25 *Inscribed sherd no. 23*

For Tanagran parallels, see Andreiomenou 2007, p. 36, nos. 20–28.

24) Inv. no. 46922. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 18, 2004). Section II; pott. gr. 23. H. 0.033 m; w. 0.037 m; l.h. 0.004–0.008 m. Graffito below the rim of a vase.

[hι]αρός̣

FIGURE 26 *Inscribed sherd no. 24*

25) Inv. no. 46888. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.031 m; l. 0.033 m; l.h. 0.020 m. Retrograde dipinto on a kantharos (?) sherd.

HI i.e. hι(αρός)

FIGURE 27 *Inscribed sherd no. 25*

Cf. Andreiomenou 2007, p. 37, nos. 29–30.

26) Inv. no. 46889. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.046 m; w. 0.019 m; l.h. 0.019 m. Graffito on a kantharos handle.

HI HI
hι(αρός) hι(αρός)

FIGURE 28 *Inscribed sherd no. 26*

27) Inv. no. 46914. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 30, 2004). Sect. II; pott. gr. 30. H. 0.029 m; w. 0.031 m; l.h. 0.010 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

hι(αρός)

FIGURE 29 *Inscribed sherd no. 27*

For this form of the aspirate, cf. Andreiomenou 2007, pp. 36–37.

28) Inv. no. 46869. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Pott. gr. 304; H. 0.031 m; w. 0.038 m; l.h. 0.008 m. Graffito below the rim of a black-glazed kantharos.

hι(αρός)

FIGURE 30 *Inscribed sherd no. 28*

29) Inv. no. 46859. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Section II, div. A1, B1, Γ1; pott. gr. 27. H. 0.063 m; w. 0.067 m; l.h. 0.013 m. Retrograde graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

hι(αρός)

FIGURE 31 *Inscribed sherd no. 29*

30) Inv. no. 46929. Thebes, Manisalis plot (April 15, 2004). Section IV; pott. gr. 50. H. 0.037 m; w. 0.026 m; l.h. 0.007 m. Graffito on a sherd; shape uncertain.

h(ιαρός)

FIGURE 32 *Inscribed sherd no. 30*

31) Inv. no. 46872. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Pott. gr. 304. H. 0.035 m; w. 0.034 m; l.h. 0.010 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

h(ιαρός)

FIGURE 33 *Inscribed sherd no. 31*

32) Inv. no. 46921. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 18, 2004). Section II; pott. gr. 23. H. 0.034 m; w. 0.019 m; l.h. 0.018 m. Graffito (retrograde?) below the rim of a vase.

h(ιαρός)

FIGURE 34 *Inscribed sherd no. 32*

33) Inv. no. 46855. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March, 30, 2005). Sections V, VI, M7, wall 7 and wall 9; pott. gr. 326. H. 0.045 m; w. 0.055 m; l.h. 0.006–0.007 m. Graffito on part of the neck and rim of a black-glazed kantharos.

EI

FIGURE 35 *Inscribed sherd no. 33*

This is probably not an epsilon, but an incomplete aspirate, and we should therefore read ⟨h⟩ι(αρός). Possibly to be dated in the 6th cent. BC.

34) Inv. no. 46844. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 6, 2005). Section M10; pott. gr. 331. H. 0.029 m; w. 0.08 m; l.h. 0.005–0.006 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

Φύσϙος μ' ἐποϙ[ίεσεν]

FIGURE 36 *Inscribed sherd no. 34*

Note the use of the letter koppa, which is, of course, known from other early Boeotian inscriptions.[46] The name Φύσκος is not found in Boeotia but is known in Hellenistic Central Greece (Naupaktos in Western Lokris, and Herakleia and Oitaia in Thessaly).[47] There are also a Thespian Φύσκων from 2nd cent. BC Athens (*IG* II^2 8839), a Φουσκίων from Hellenistic Thespies, and a Φυσκίων from Amphissa. All these names are found in Attica from the 4th century BC onwards, and more frequently in Aitolia and Western Greece.[48] A most noteworthy case is that of Φύσϙον (i.e. Φύσκων), whose name is found on one of the famous painted *pinakes* of Penteskoufia, dated to 550–525 BC.[49] It should be noted that the last letter of the Corinthian name is not certain, and that Amyx had tentatively proposed to read a san instead of a nu: this would make the name of the Corinthian dedicant Φύσκος rather than Φύσκων.[50] Given the chronological proximity, is it possible to identify the Corinthian man with the man attested in the Theban sherd? The question has to be raised even if there cannot be a definitive answer. For the etymology of Φύσκων, Φύσκος and related names ("Potbellied") see Wachter 2001, pp. 143–144. For a potter's signature from the Tanagran Herakleion, see Andreiomenou 2007, p. 43, no. 62.

46 *LSAG*^{2} pp. 89–91.

47 *LGPN* IIIB, s.v.

48 *LGPN* II, IIIA, and IIIB, s.vv.

49 Wachter 2001, pp. 143–144 no. *COP* 62.

50 Amyx 1988, p. 608.

35) Inv. no. 46856. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 4, 2004). Sect. IV; pott. gr. 83a. L.h. 0.009–0.010 m. Graffito, probably close to a handle.

Φύσϙ[ος μ' ἐποίεσεν?]

FIGURE 37 *Inscribed sherd no. 35*

See no. 34 above.

36) Inv. no. 46912. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 29, 2004). Section II, Div. B1, Γ1, Δ1, Δ2; pott. gr. 29. H. 0.048 m; w. 0.046 m; l.h. 0.005 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

ΦΥ[- - -]

FIGURE 38 *Inscribed sherd no. 36*

Perhaps Φύ[σϙος μ' ἐποίεσεν]? Cf. nos. 34 and 35 above.

37) Inv. no. 46851. Thebes, Manisalis plot (Nov. 3, 2004 and July 8, 2005). West of Section I, and Section M13-M14; pott. gr. 295 and 377. H. 0.021 m; w. 0.091 m; l.h. 0.005 m. Graffito below the rim of an open vase with decoration of purple and black bands.

FIGURE 39 *Inscribed sherd no. 37*

ΑΠΣ[..]ΠΛΕ ἐμ᾽ ἐποίϝεσε Διαπ[- - -]

For the digamma see *SEG* XLII 438, Φίθ̄ε μ᾽ ἐποίϝε̄σε; *SEG* XLIV 424, Σῖμος μ᾽ ἐποίϝεισε. The best parallels for this type of inscription are given by the inscribed vases of the potter Menaidas: Raubitschek 1966, pp. 156–157, nos. 1–4 (Μεναίδας ἐμ᾽ ἐποίϝεσε Χάροπι); no. 5 (Χάροπι ἐμ᾽ ἐποίϝεσε Μεναίδας). If the reading of the last four letters is correct, and if the incomprehensible sequence of letters ΑΠΣ[..]ΠΛΕ belongs to a dative, then the only possibility is Διάπ[υρος], a name attested twice in Magna Graecia and once in Thessaly.[51]

51 *LGPN* IIIA and IIIB s.v., respectively. Διαπύριος has only one attestation in Roman Imperial Melos (*LGPN* I s.v.), and is therefore not a candidate.

38) Inv. no. 46848. Thebes, Manisalis plot (Nov. 3, 2004). Balk west of Section I; pott. gr. 295. L.h. 0.010–0.011 m. Dipinto on the bottom of the body of an open vase. Two violet bands running around the vessel create the field for the dipinto.

FIGURE 40 *Inscribed sherd no. 38*

[ὁ δεῖνα - - -πο]τέριον Κτερίαι ἐπ[οίεσεν?]

See Aravantinos 2010, pp. 148–149. The name Κτερίας, i.e. Κτηρίας, is particularly common in Euboea: *LGPN* I, s.v. In any case, it is very likely that we should restore the name of a Boeotian or Euboean potter as the subject of ἐποίεσεν. For a similar inscribed Boeotian vase, see *CEG* 445 (ca. 550–525 BC): Μνασάλκες π[οίεσ]ε Ἐμπεδιόνδαι· / αὐτ[ὰ]ρ ho δῶκε φέρον φιλοτάσιον Αἰσχύλοι αὐτό. The rho does not have a tail: I provisionally suggest a date in the early 6th century BC.

39) Inv. no. 46850. Thebes, Manisalis plot (September 22, 2005). H. 0.051 m; w. 0.047 m; l.h. 0.004–0.007 m. Graffito under the rim of a black-glazed kantharos.

FIGURE 41 *Inscribed sherd no. 39*

Ὀνάσιμο[ς e.g. ἀνέθεκεν]

The name Ὀνάσιμος is attested from the 6th century BC down to Late Antiquity. It is known in various places in Boeotia, but Thebes in particular has produced eight attestations.[52] One Onasimos is attested as dedicant on a drinking vessel found in the Theban Kabirion, said to date to the 5th century BC—too late to be our man.[53] Another Onasimos was active in Thebes ca. 540–520 BC, and he may well be the same as the Onasimos of the sherd.[54]

40) Inv. no. 46927. Thebes, Manisalis plot (August 3, 2005). Section I; pott. gr. 402. H. 0.032 m; w. 0.024 m. Graffito on the handle of a kantharos.

FIGURE 42 *Inscribed sherd no. 40*

[- - -]αμιας vacat

52 *LGPN* IIIB s.v. nos. 29–36.

53 Wolters and Bruns 1940, p. 51, no. 117.

54 Ducat 1971, pp. 201–203, no. 124: he appears to be the maker of a bronze statuette.

Despite the reversed sigma (for which see also no. 48 below), this is probably not a retrograde inscription, i.e. we should not read the incomprehensible σαιμα[- - -]. Instead we should restore [Σ]αμίας. The name is known from Boeotia, including Thebes,[55] Western Greece (Achaia, Akarnania, Epirus),[56] Crete, Kos,[57] and Athens.[58]

41) Inv. no. 46857. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 20, 2004). Section VII; pott. gr. 117. H. 0.032 m; w. 0.026 m; l.h. 0.004–0.005 m. The theta is θ1 or θ2; the mu is μ3; the upsilon is υ1. Graffito on a kantharos (?) sherd, preserving part of the rim.

FIGURE 43 *Inscribed sherd no. 41*

[- - -]θυμι[- - -]

e.g. [Εὐ]θυμί[δας], or [Εὐ]θυμί[ας], or even Θυμί[ας ἀνέθεκεν] [for the names see *LGPN* IIIB s.vv.]. Our best candidate, however, is [Εὐ]θύμι[χος], a name with two attestations in 5th century Thebes (*IG* VII 2561 and *AE* 1934–1935, Chronika p. 2, no. 23; both funerary stelai).[59]

55 *LGPN* IIIB, s.v.

56 *LGPN* IIIA, s.v.

57 *LGPN* I, s.v.

58 *LGPN* II, s.v.

59 Euthymichos is known from Thebes (*LGPN* IIIB, s.v.), but also from Athens (*LGPN* II s.v.).

42) Inv. no. 46911. Thebes, Manisalis plot (Nov. 1, 2004). Section XII; pott. gr. 293. H. 0.067 m; w. 0.066 m; l.h. 0.005–0.009 m. Graffito on a kylix (?) sherd.

[- - -]ραṿο

FIGURE 44 *Inscribed sherd no. 42*

This reading is more likely than [- - -]ραμο. We should probably supplement [Κοι]ράνο. Ἴρανος and Κρᾶνος are attested too late in Boeotian onomastics. Λίρανος, attested once in Hellenistic Tanagra, is considered to be dubious,[60] so we are left with Κοίρανος, known from 5th century BC Tanagra in the form Κοέρανος.[61]

43) Inv. no. 46876. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Section VI; pott. gr. 93. H. 0.094 m; w. 0.105 m; l.h. 0.005–0.007 m. Graffito on a sherd with reddish burnished color.

[ἀν]ἑθεκε Βία ⟨τ⟩ὸρακλέϝε

FIGURE 45 *Inscribed sherd no. 43*

60 See *LGPN* IIIB s.v., where the editors tentatively suggest Λίβανος.

61 *LPGN* IIIB s.v. Κοίρανος (no. 1).

The name is known from Thessaly.[62] Interestingly, Bias is found twice on early 6th century BC (590–570) *pinakes* from Corinth. Recently Wachter rejected the interpretation of Βία in *COP 18*, which had been taken to be a patronymic genitive, as a personal name,[63] but the happy coincidence of the name lacking its final sigma in the Corinthian and now in the Boeotian inscriptions make us wonder whether we have in both cases one and the same person. Possible date: late 7th century/early 6th cent. BC. The lack of final sigma is a significant, but well-attested, Boeotian oddity.[64]

44) Inv. no. 46908. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 23, 2004). Section II, div. A1, B1, Γ1; pott. gr. 27. H. 0.072 m; w. 0.041 m; l.h. 0.010 m. Graffito under the handle of a black-glazed kantharos (?).

[- - - ἀνέθε]κε[ν?]

FIGURE 46 *Inscribed sherd no. 44*

62 *LGPN* IIIB s.v. Βίας.

63 *LGPN* IIIA s.v.; cf. Wachter 2001, pp. 129–130, no. *COP* 18.

64 Buck 1955, p. 87; Vottéro 2002, p. 81.

45) Inv. no. 46879. Thebes, Manisalis plot (April 7, 2005). Section VII; pott. gr. 333. H. 0.026 m; w. 0.027 m; l.h. 0.007 m. Sherd of a kantharos with a retrograde inscription.

[ἀν]έθε̣[κεν?] ←

FIGURE 47 *Inscribed sherd no. 45*

The writing suggests a rather early date, perhaps in the 7th cent. BC.

46) Inv. no. 46877. Thebes, Manisalis plot (November 2, 2004). Section XII; pott. gr. 293. H. 0.09 m; w. 0.045 m. Graffito on a sherd.

[- - -ἀνέ]θ⟨ε⟩κε

FIGURE 48 *Inscribed sherd no. 46*

The inscription omits the epsilon before theta and kappa: cf. *IG* I^3 585, l. 2: [κα]τέθ⟨ε⟩κεν.

47) Inv. no. 46891. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.019 m; w. 0.040 m; l.h. 0.005–0.006 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

[- - -ἀ]νέθε[κεν]

FIGURE 49 *Inscribed sherd no. 47*

48) Inv. no. 46846. Thebes, Manisalis plot (September 29, 2005). Section XIV; pott. gr. 419a. L.h. 0.004–0.005 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[- - -]ας ἀνέ[θεκεν]

FIGURE 50 *Inscribed sherd no. 48*

Sigma is reversed. For a similar form in a Theban epigraphical context see *LSAG*^{2}, pl. 7, no. 5 (= Buck 1955, p. 228 no. 1).

49) Inv. no. 46849. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 29, 2004). Section II, div. B1, Γ1, Δ1, Δ2; pott. gr. 29. H. 0.036 m; w. 0.002 m; l.h. 0.005–0.008 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[- - -]. ἀνέθ[εκεν]

FIGURE 51 *Inscribed sherd no. 49*

50) Inv. no. 46899. Thebes, Manisalis plot (April 7, 2005). Section VII; pott. gr. 333. H. 0.029 m; w. 0.031 m; l.h. 0.005–0.009 m. Graffito on a kantharos (?).

[- - -]ος ἐμι ϙ.[- - -]

FIGURE 52 *Inscribed sherd no. 50*

Epsilon is squeezed between sigma and mu. The last visible letter is probably a koppa rather than an omicron. For the meaning, cf. the metrical graffito from Classical Thisbe, *CEG* 447: Γοργίνιός ἐμι ὁ κό|τυλος καλὸς κᾳ[λ]ῶ.

51) Inv. no. 46902. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 22, 2004). Section II, div. Δ1; pott. gr. 25. H. 0.031 m; w. 0.052 m. Graffito on the shoulder of a black-glazed kantharos.

[- - -]. ἐμι O..[- - -]

FIGURE 53 *Inscribed sherd no. 51*

For a similar ownership inscription see no. 50 above.

52) Inv. no. 46870. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Pott. gr. 304. H. 0.022 m; w. 0.025 m; l.h. 0.008 m. Graffito below the rim of a black-glazed kantharos.

[- - -] ἐμι [- - -]

FIGURE 54 *Inscribed sherd no. 52*

For similar ownership inscriptions see nos. 50 and 51 above.

53) Inv. no. 46903. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 9, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 10. H. 0.028 m; w. 0.092 m; l.h. 0.010 m. Graffito below the rim of a kylix (?) with dark and light background.

FIGURE 55 *Inscribed sherd no. 53*

[- - ἐ]μι

For similar ownership signatures see nos. 50, 51, and 52 above.

54) Inv. no. 46895. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.027 m; w. 0.026 m; l.h. 0.007–0.012 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

ΣΟẸ[- - -]

FIGURE 56 *Inscribed sherd no. 54*

The last surviving letter could also be an aspirate. The orientation of the extant letters does not allow the reading of a retrograde [ηεραϰλ]ἑος

55) Inv. no. 46893. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.031 m; w. 0.029 m; l.h. 0.006 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

[- - -]λαμ̣[- - -]

Or [- - -]λαν̣[- - -], or even [- - -]λαγ̣[- - -].

56) Inv. no. 46892. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103 H. 0.029 m; w. 0.013 m; l.h. 0.007 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

vac. I vac.

FIGURE 57 *Inscribed sherd no. 56*

A unit of a sort?

57) Inv. no. 46925. Thebes, Manisalis plot (June 4, 2004). Southern border of the plot, to the south of Sections I–III; pott. gr. 142. H. 0.044 m; w. 0.028 m; l.h. 0.011–0.017 m. Graffito on a red-glazed sherd.

[- - -]ε̣βι.[- - -]

FIGURE 58 *Inscribed sherd no. 57*

Form and letters may suggest a slightly later date (early Classical?).

58) Inv. no. 46874. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 15, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 19. H. 0.045 m; w. 0.059 m; l.h. 0.046 m. Graffito below a kantharos rim.

[- - -]ρα

FIGURE 59 *Inscribed sherd no. 58*

Cf. Andreiomenou 2007, p. 40 nos. 47 (APA) and 48 (OPA).

59) Inv. no. 46875. Thebes, Manisalis plot (March 15, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 19. H. 0.023 m; w. 0.027 m; l.h. 0.008–0.009 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[- - -]εστ[- - -]

FIGURE 60 *Inscribed sherd no. 59*

60) Inv. no. 46886. Thebes, Manisalis plot (May 13, 2004). Section I; pott. gr. 103. H. 0.66 m; w. 0.038 m; l.h. 0.008 m. Graffito below a kantharos rim.

[- - -]N HYΛ̣Α̣[- - -]

61) Inv. no. 46928. H. 0.016 m; w. 0.018 m. Graffito on a reddish sherd.

[- - -]ΥΛ[- - -]

FIGURE 61 *Inscribed sherd no. 61*

Cf. no. 60 above.

62) Inv. no. 46907. Thebes, Manisalis plot. (Date, section, and pottery group not recorded). H. 0.063 m; w. 0.070 m; l.h. 0.004–0.008 m. Graffito on a sherd from an open vase, below the rim. Pink fabric.

ΜΗ⊕ΕΕ [- - -]

FIGURE 62 *Inscribed sherd no. 62*

Perhaps a prohibition of a sort, i.e. μὴ θέε, but the reckless lettering does not inspire confidence and the sherd should be re-examined.

63) Inv. no. 46917. Thebes, Manisalis plot (April 21, 2005). Pott. gr. 304. H. 0.057 m; w. 0.061 m; l.h. 0.004 m. Graffito on a sherd of an open vase, possibly a kylix. Decorated with downward-pointing triangles.

[- - -]λον

FIGURE 63 *Inscribed sherd no. 63*

Probably a name, such as [Μέ]λον, [Μό]λον, etc.

64) Inv. no. 46843. Thebes, Manisalis Plot. Section II; pott. gr. 23. H. 0.052 m; w. 0.058 m; l.h. 0.008–0.010 m. Graffito on a kantharos.

ϟ̣ϙ̣Γ̣Δ̣Ι

FIGURE 64 *Inscribed sherd no. 64*

The inscription is difficult. [Φύ]σϙ⟨ο⟩ ΔΙ, *vel sim.*, is hardly satisfying. There is a very remote possibility that we should read a retrograde ἰ̣α̣ρ̣ό̣ς̣, although the lack of aspiration is disconcerting.

65) Inv. no. 46867. Thebes, Manisalis plot (October 27, 2004). Balk to the west of section I; pott. gr. 292. H. 0.0038 m; w. 0.074 m; l.h. 0.006–0.012 m. Graffito on a kantharos sherd.

[- - -]ΡΕΓ.[- - -]

FIGURE 65 *Inscribed sherd no. 65*

66) Inv. no. 46930. Thebes, Manisalis plot (September 13, 2004). Balk to the south of Section I; pott. gr. 221. H. 0.021 m; w. 0.017 m; l.h. 0.005 m. Graffito on a reddish sherd.

ΕΘ[- - -]

FIGURE 66 *Inscribed sherd no. 66*

Epsilon has a tail, theta consists of an encircled cross. If this is the beginning of a personal name, the only Boeotian names that might fit are Ἐθ[ον] (i.e. Ἤθων), and Ἐθ[ελίππα], for which see *LGPN* IIIB, s.vv.

67) Inv. no. 46932. Thebes, Manisalis plot (September 22, 2005). Balk 17; pott. gr. 414. H. 0.015 m; w. 0.019 m; l.h. 0.005 m. Graffito below the rim of a black-glazed kantharos.

[- - -]OE̩I[- - -]

FIGURE 67 *Inscribed sherd no. 67*

Epsilon has a tail; the last letter could be iota, pi, gamma, etc.

68) Inv. no. 46913. Thebes, Manisalis plot. Pott. gr. 139. H. 0.037 m; w. 0.021 m; l.h. 0.004 m. Graffito below the rim of a kantharos.

[- - -]ΤΟΓ[- - -]

I do not consider it very likely that we should read an incomplete [- - -]ΤΟΡ[- - -], i.e. [- - -]τὸ⟨ρ⟩[ακλέει].

69) Inv. no. 46920. Thebes, Manisalis plot (November 9, 2004). Unexcavated strip M14; pott. gr. 305. H. 0.031 m; w. 0.050 m. Graffito under the base of a kylix(?).

incised tree (?) ΓΕ

FIGURE 68 *Inscribed sherd no. 69*

Possibly a trademark: cf. Johnston 1979, pp. 217–218, types 20E and 21E.

70) Inv. no. 46923. Thebes, Manisalis plot (November 1, 2004). Section XII; pott. gr. 293. H. 0.042 m; w. 0.037 m; l.h. 0.010 m. Graffito on a potsherd with fairly elaborate decoration, (bands, dots, etc.) on white ground.

FIGURE 69 *Inscribed sherd no. 70*

[- - -]ΙΪΡΟ̣[- - -]?

Clearly, several of the inscribed sherds catalogued here show features of the Boeotian script and dialect.[65] Thus, they were most likely incised on the spot. Most must have been vases produced by Boeotian, if not always specifically Theban, workshops.[66] Although many amongst them are simple dedications, other formulas also occur, including some signatures of potters. A noteworthy example is Φύσκος, whose name is preserved certainly in two, and possibly in three graffiti,[67] quite plausibly on different vases produced in his workshop. This potter can now take his place amongst the known early Boeotian potters.[68] Potters were also probably mentioned in sherds nos. 37 and 38.

One of the most distinctive groups of sherds is that consisting of the formula ηιαρός in one form or another.[69] These inscriptions could be compared with the inscribed sherds that were discovered in deposits in a large Archaic building at Tanagra. The Tanagran sherds are thought to belong to a sanctuary or sacred

65 On the Boeotian dialect, see Bechtel 1921, pp. 213–311; Buck 1955, pp. 152–154; Thumb and Scherer 1959, pp. 5–48; Vottéro 2001.

66 See Raubitschek 1966.

67 See catalogue nos. 34, 35, and 36.

68 Raubitschek 1966.

69 For instance the abbreviation HI or simply H is found in the place of ηιαρός. On the various formulas with ηιαρός see Lazzarini 1976, pp. 259–261.

enclosure (*temenos*) dedicated to Herakles, otherwise unknown.[70] They are graffiti on black-glazed pots, mostly *kantharoi*, and they preserve some version of the formula ΗΙΑΡΟΣ ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΟΣ. Similar formulas have long been known from the inscribed sherds of the sanctuary of the Kabiroi in the territory of Thebes.[71] To these, we can now add a similar recent find from the Acropolis of Plataia.[72]

Returning to the new Theban sherds, we often encounter the name of the divine recipient in the dative, occasionally preceded or followed by the verb of dedication: ἀνέθεκε τὸΡΑΚΛΕΕΙ. Only a limited number of names of dedicants survive: Onasimos, probably Samias, possibly but not certainly Euthymichos. Finally the personal name Bias is probably found in a very early example: [ἀν]ἐθεκεν Βία ⟨τ⟩ὸΡΑΚΛΕΕϜΙ.[73] Both the omission of the final *sigma* and the use of the *digamma* before the dative ending are well-observed phenomena in early Boeotian inscriptions. A more elaborate example of a dedicatory inscription can be seen in the case of dipinto no. 38: [ὁ δεῖνα πο]τέριον Κτερίαι ἐπ[οίεσε] ("[So-and-so] m[ade] this drinking-vessel for Kterias").

Another noteworthy linguistic phenomenon is that of crasis: almost invariably the definite article TOI and the hero's name ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΕΙ merge into τὸΡΑ-

70 Andreiomenou 2007, pp. 17, notes 57–58, and 31–43, 259–262, with dr. 58–62, and pl. 159–163. The concentration of large quantities of Archaic votive pottery (mostly *kantharoi*) in the monumental building (Room I and II), with many graffiti addressing exclusively Herakles, is not easy to explain without stressing its prominent religious character. We cannot possibly accept its use as a storeroom relating to the needs of the cemeteries of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC., suggesting an analogous dating for the construction of the building. The building should be Archaic, and pottery deposits that have not been destroyed by illicit excavations and mechanical plowing are dated in this period. Human activities reached the foundation level on the rock. But pottery for chronology could be collected from the foundation ditches. A *temenos* or a sacred house (*hieros oikos*) for the cult of Herakles could be the most appropriate interpretation. No tiles or other building material are reported from this excavation apart from miscellaneous cultic objects (plates 1–5), and as a matter of fact the structure, whatever it is, may be considered roofless. Meanwhile the square construction in its largest "room" seems to be an altar base rather than a roof support. Similar structures are also found also to the south of the 'monumental building.' Symposia presuppose eating sacrificial meat and feasting. Poros stone is a common building material during the Archaic period, especially in Boeotian religious architecture (Thebes, Ptoon, Tanagra, etc.).

71 For the formula with *hiaros* in the Kabirion see Wolters and Bruns 1940, pp. 40, nos. 38–42, 67–69 nos. 275–289; Lazzarini 1976, pp. 254–262.

72 For this mid-6th century BC inscribed kantharos, see now Kalliga 2013, pp. 256, 305 no. 149. The inscription reads ΗΙΑΡΟ[ϛ - - -].

73 Sherd no. 43 above. For the formula "so and so dedicated to the god" (here "to Herakles"), see Lazzarini 1976, pp. 111–115 (ΗΕΡΑΚΛΕΙ: με Γύρες ἀνέθεκεν …).

κλέει *vel sim*. The same pattern has also been observed in the Tanagra sherds and should be considered a Boeotian peculiarity. Also interesting from a linguistic point of view is the variety in the dative endings. The earliest examples have the uncontracted form τὸρακλέει (e.g. nos. 3 and 4). Later, one finds the contracted ending τὸρακλεῖ. In at least one instance the spelling is τὸρακλῖ. This is not an error, but rather a welcome addition to an expanding corpus of inscriptions showing that in Boeotia the diphthong EI and the letter I (iota) came phonetically very close to each other, already in the late 6th century BC.[74]

In any case, the formula with the name of the hero in the dative confirms, beyond any doubt, the identification of the excavated complex as part of the *temenos* of Herakles. Chronologically, most of the sherds suggest a date in the 6th century BC. However, a smaller percentage of the surviving inscriptions, and more precisely the dipinti and the retrograde (ἐπὶ τὰ λαιά) graffiti, may well belong to the late 7th century.[75] Thanks to these observations and close study of other classes of archaeological material, we can now see that cultic activity with regard to Herakles was taking place in the area of the Elektran Gates already in the late 8th century BC and most likely down to ca. 500 BC. Through close study of the extant epigraphical evidence, especially vase inscriptions, we derive many invaluable pieces of information relevant to the religious practices of Archaic Thebes, especially before the Persian Wars.

II *Metal Inscriptions*

The second category of inscriptions comes from the two main sectors of the excavation: the *peribolos* to the west and the *escharai* to the east. This category contains only three examples, incised inscriptions on metal objects.

The first example is an inscribed ex-voto.[76] It is the right open-railed siding of a miniature bronze chariot (δίφρος) with incised decoration on the vertical axis of both sides (inv.no. 46958).[77] It has a maximum height of 0.086 m and a maximum width of 0.088 m. Four holes on the four corners of the siding were used either for the suspension of the object by means of strings or for

74 See the evidence of the Tanagran graffiti: Andreiomenou 2007, p. 31.

75 See the early epigraphical evidence from Methone in Tzifopoulos 2012. As a matter of fact, in almost all cases, these tentative dates can be corroborated independently by the ongoing study and publication of the pottery. K. Kalliga is currently working on the pottery of the 7th century BC in a dissertation at the University of Thessaloniki.

76 It was discovered on November 10, 2004, along with pottery belonging to group 307.

77 For a similar-looking diphros represented in a late Archaic relief from Aigina (probably from the Aiakeion), see Despinis 2009, p. 350, figs. 1–2.

FIGURE 70 *Inscribed bronze dedication: side A*

the attachment of other parts of the chariot.[78] The same inscription has been carved on both sides of the siding, in deep legible letters that are rather large in relation to the size of the object (letter height 0.007–0.008 m). The sigma is of the three-bar type and the rho has a tail, but the gamma is rather developed, forming a 90-degree angle. The central bar of alpha is horizontal. A date in the earlier part of the Classical period (ca. 480–430 BC?) is likely, and compatible with the style of the bronze object.

On the exterior (side A), the inscription in majuscule letters runs as follows: ΑΡΓΙΟ[.] | ΜΕLΙϚϚΙΟΝΙ (**Fig. 70**).[79] On the interior, the same inscription is repeated but the letters are disposed slightly differently, and the words are separated by a tricolon: ΜΕLΙϚϚΙ|ΟΝΙ ⁝ ΑΡΓΙΟΙ Ẹ (**Fig. 71**). The inscribed bronze sheet was intended to be seen on both sides, as indicated by their quite similar double-face decoration and inscription.

The use of iota instead of the diphthong EI is a well-known Boeotian dialectal feature. The name Μελισσίων, if this is what we have here, is common in Phokis; it is also found in Megaris (Megara and Aigosthena), and once in Arca-

78 Cf. Crouwel 1992, pp. 29–33.

79 The two words are separated. The first word is written on the upper part of the siding, whereas the second word is incised on the lower part.

FIGURE 71 *Inscribed bronze dedication: side B*

dia, but is not attested in Boeotia. Similarly, the related feminine Μελισσίς is also known in Phokis and Western Lokris as well as in the Peloponnese, but again not in Boeotia.[80] ΑΡΓΙΟΙ is clearly an ethnic, either in the dative singular (i.e. Ἀργείῳ) or in nominative plural (i.e. Ἀργεῖοι).

On the latter interpretation (Μελισσί|ονι : Ἀργῖοι), the Argives as a collective had made a dedication to an otherwise unknown hero Melission.[81] Their presence would be somewhat surprising, although not inexplicable given the Argive origin of the Seven Against Thebes. It is in the same context that one should evaluate the other interpretation, namely that the dedication is offered to "Melission the Argive" (Μελισσί|ονι : Ἀργίοι).[82] We know the names of the

80 See *LGPN* IIIA, and IIIB s.vv. Μελισσίων and Μελισσίς respectively.

81 Though tempting at first sight, we should resist any connection with the Theban Μέλισσος who was praised by Pindar in *Isthm.* 3/4 for his victories at the Isthmia (ἵπποις), and at the Theban Herakleia (as a boy).

82 This interpretation runs into some difficulties if we assume that the first inscription should be read from the upper side of the siding downwards as suggested above, i.e. ΑΡΓΙΟΙ ΜΕΛΙΡΗΙ|ΟΝΙ The reversal of noun and adjective would be unusual, though it has to be said that the incision of inscriptions on small objects is often haphazard.

mythological Argive besiegers of Thebes, and Melission is not one of them, but one wonders whether the dedication preserves a local variant. Interestingly, we know of a minor Argive mythological figure, who went under the analogous name Μέλισσος, although his actions are placed in Corinth.[83] Perhaps more tempting is an etymological and cultic connection with Melia, daughter of Okeanos and sister of Ismenos.[84] At any rate, the issue of the identity of Melission must remain open for the time being.

The second inscription is a public document that had probably been stored in the shrine of Herakles, the poliadic divinity of Thebes, as so often happened in the ancient Greek world.[85] Because of its uniqueness, it is much more difficult to understand, especially since its left half is mostly missing. Restoring and interpreting the text is therefore a substantial challenge.[86]

FIGURE 72 *Inscribed bronze tablet, inv.no. 41063*

83 This Melissos had a son called Aktaion, who, however does not appear to be the more famous Boeotian Aktaion: see Grimal 1953, s.v. Μέλισσος.

84 On Melia see Schachter 1981, pp. 78–80.

85 See for example the case of the treasury of the city and the inscribed bronze tablets: Aravantinos 2006; Matthaiou in this volume.

86 I have been helped greatly in reading and interpreting this inscription by A.P. Matthaiou and N. Papazarkadas.

Description: Right part of a bronze tablet with holes in the upper and lower right corners (diameter: 0.008 m). It was found on October 25, 2004 at the plot of the Manisalis family, at 1 Polyneikes Street (balk of western trench 1, pottery group 289, X145), now in the Museum of Thebes, inv.no. 41063. Dimensions: height: 0.110 m; preserved width: 0.160 m; thickness 0.002 m; letter height: 0.0085 (omikron)–0.010 m. The inscription is stoichedon, with the exception of the last (eighth) line. The last four letters of the word ΒΟΙΟΤΑΡΧΙΟΝΤΟΣ have been inscribed along the right edge of the tablet, perpendicular to the main axis of the inscription. The inscription is in the epichoric alphabet, with tailed rho, three-bar sigma, and psi-form chi. The central bar of alpha is always slanting downwards, in most instances to the right, but on two (first alpha of line 3, and first alpha of line 4) to the left. On the basis of the lettering, I would provisionally date the text to the first half of the 5th century BC.

[- - - - - -]τ̣ο̃ε Ἀριστ-
[- - - - - -]τ̣ο̃ε Ἀθανα-
[- - - - - - κ]αὶ παιδε-
4 [σσι- - - -]Τ̣ΕΓΟΑΝ⁝α
[- - - - - - -]π̣ρ̣οπραχ-
[σίαν - - -]ἔδον α-
[- - -] Θ[ε]βαε̃ος^{V}
8 [- - -]αδ̣α̣ο̣ βοιοταρχίο-↑ντος

LL. 1–2: The spelling with the diphthong οε instead of οι (in the dative of the definite article τõε) has long been thought to be more common in Tanagra.[87] In any case, such spellings do not postdate the fifth century BC.[88]

LL. 2–3: We should either restore a theophoric name (e.g. Ἀθανα[γόραε]) or the ethnic Ἀθανα[ίοε]. For this emphatic repetition of the definite article before the ethnic, see the text quoted in the commentary of lines 5–6.

LL. 3–4: The Aiolic form παίδε|[σσι] should be probably restored here.[89]

L. 4: The word seems to be unattested, though it should probably be etymologically connected with τέγος/στέγος. We could read [σ]τεγόαν (i.e., accusative singular of the alpha declension feminine noun στεγόα). The term could well denote "the right to get shelter," which would arguably be similar to ἔγκτησις

87 Buck 1955, p. 32; Blümel 1982, p. 65.

88 Vottéro 1995, pp. 90–91.

89 For the form, cf. Buck 1955, p. 89; Blümel 1982, p. 250.

οἰκίας or the Boeotian ἔππασις οἰκίας; alternatively it could simply equate to the noun οἰκίαν. However, all this is very hypothetical and I have not transcribed the line into minuscules.

LL. 4–5: Something like ἀ|[συλίαν] or ἀ[σφάλιαν] could be restored.

LL. 5–6: For the restoration πρ̣οπραχ|[σίαν], see *IG* IX^{2}.1 2.390 (*Syll.*^{3} 121) from the Acarnanian city Stratos (late 5th century BC): ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλι τῶν Στρατί|ων· Λυσίαι τῶι Καλλία τῶι Με|γαρεῖ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι τῶι Λυσί|α καὶ Καλλίπωι (!) τῶι Λυσία πρ|οξενίαν δόμεν καὶ προνο|μίαν καὶ προπραξίαν αὐτοῖ|ς καὶ γενεᾶι. προένγυοι etc. Note that the document from Stratos is inscribed on a bronze tablet that looks identical to the new one from Thebes.

L. 7. Θ[ε]βαῆος. As in the case of the forms of ll. 1–2, the occurrence of the diphthong AE instead of AI is somewhat surprising, since it has been considered to be a peculiarity of Tanagra.[90] Grammatically, this could be either a nominative singular masculine, or an accusative plural masculine. The former is more likely. The main body of the Stratian decree cited above is followed by a list of three guarantors (προέγγυοι) in the nominative. Something similar most likely occurs here, although there is probably space for only one individual (the unknown Theban). After the ethnic there is a vacant space that marks the end of the text proper.

L. 8. Given the *vacat* at the end of line 7, here we almost certainly have a separate section, most probably a chronological formula. The surviving traces would be compatible with a genitive ending of a patronymic-type personal name, such as Αἰολάδας, Ἀμινάδας, Λεοντιάδας, etc.

We can provisionally say that someone (one or two individuals along with their children) are given several privileges, of which the most interesting is προπραξία, priority in negotiations,[91] or, following Latte, priority in having one's financial demands fulfilled.[92]

Arguably the most extraordinary aspect of this inscription is that it contains the earliest attestation of the office of the boeotarchs, in the genitive absolute βοιοταρχίοντος, almost certainly a dating formula. The date of the introduction of the office has long been debated. Epigraphically, the boeotarchs have so far been known only from the 4th century BC onwards. Herodotus famously mentions boeotarchs, but his use of the term has been considered anachronistic by many scholars, who claim that the Boeotian *koinon* only came into existence

90 Buck 1955, p. 30; Blümel 1982, pp. 66–67.

91 Thus in *LSJ*^{9} s.v.

92 For this interpretation see Latte 1959, p. 34.

after the battle of Koroneia in 446 BC.[93] The new inscription, if the suggested date is correct, might appear to vindicate the Halicarnassian historian.[94]

We are still left to wonder: who is the issuing authority of the new document, the Thebans or the Boeotian *koinon*? In other words, which is the subject of ἔδον in line 6? By itself, the use of the verb βοιοταρχέω cannot prove anything, since from Hellenistic evidence we know that members of the *koinon* often used the archonships of boeotarchs as chronological formulas even in their internal documents. However, in the case of the new document we have a good indication that the issuing authority was the *koinon*, rather than the *polis* of Thebes. In line 7, we find the ethnic ΘΕΒΑΕΟΣ. Since a *polis* would almost never use the ethnic to describe one of its own members for the purposes of domestic administration, we should probably infer that the document was issued by the *koinon*.

Even more surprising was the discovery of a third inscription incised under the rim of a bronze kantharos (Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 41064). It was found on 2 February 2004, in section XII (pottery group 293). Preserved height: 0.077 m.; length from handle to handle, 0.172 m. The inscription runs around the rim of the badly damaged vase and is interrupted only in the area of the handles. The vase is a dedication to Apollo Ismenios by an unknown individual, whose name is all but invisible in the most damaged part of the rim.

93 The verb in Herodotus and Thucydides is βοιωταρχέω (e.g., Hdt. 9.15.1; Thuc. 2.2.1, 4.91.1). Demand 1982, p. 18, sees anachronism in both historians. On the basis of the lettering the new tablet probably dates to the first half of the 5th century. A date after 447 cannot be excluded, but an earlier date seems more likely.

94 The historical importance of the new find is also pointed out by D. Knoepfler, in *BE* (2012) 200.

FIGURE 73 *Bronze kantharos, inv. no. 41064*)

[- - -] ἀνέθεκε τὸπόλονι τõι h[ισμενίοι]

For a similar formula see Keramopoullos 1917, p. 35 no. 1 (Πολύκλετο[ς] ἀνέθεκε τ|ὸ|πόλονι τõι h[ι]σμενίοι), and Lazzarini 1976, p. 194; cf. similar inscriptions from Ptoion, Kabirion and Delphi in Lazzarini 1976, pp. 196–197.

FIGURE 74 *Detail of the inscription, inv. no. 41064*

The letter forms suggest a date in the late 6th or the early 5th century BC. Unlike the two previous metal inscriptions, which were found close to the western *peribolos* and the supposed cenotaph, the central point of the heroic cult, this inscription was discovered near the sacrificial altars and the *escharai* in the easternmost part of the excavated plot. It lay in the debris thrown there from the destruction or the refurbishment of an Archaic temple, deposited between the two ash altars. Pausanias (9.11.7–8) mentions an ash altar (σπόδιος βωμός) that existed in his days, and he relates it to the cult of Apollo and to an oracle ἀπὸ κληδόνων (from voices). Yet Schachter has been skeptical about this passage and has quite convincingly connected the altar to the cult of Herakles, at least in Archaic times.[95] However, the discovery of a dedication to Ismenian Apollo in the area of the shrine of Herakles cannot be easily explained. The possibility remains that it was brought from another place.[96] As already mentioned, the inscribed vessel was found among debris from a temple's roof, possibly the result of a repair. This debris could have been thrown there after the serious damage inflicted by the Greeks during their nineteen-day siege of Thebes after the battle of Plataia.[97]

III *An Inscribed Stele*

For the sake of completeness, I should briefly mention that the epigraphic material uncovered in the area of Herakles' *temenos* outside the Elektran Gates includes a fragmentary stele, preserving the end of a military treaty between the Thebans and the citizens of Histiaia, a coastal city of northern Euboea. It was found built into a wall of the middle Byzantine period, about 25 m. to the west of the Manisalis plot. The inscription dates to the early 4th century BC, perhaps to 377/6 BC, and probably once stood, along with other stelai, in the spacious *temenos* of Herakles, celebrating Thebes' military might.[98]

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95 Schachter 1981, s.v. Apollo Spodios, and idem 1986, pp. 14–30, believes that the sacrifice of a working ox (ἐργάτου βοός) at Pausanias' ash altar was more appropriate to Herakles than to Apollo.

96 Fragments of a terracotta head were found there together with decorated roof tiles.

97 Hdt. 9.86, with Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 289–290; cf. Thuc. 1.90.2, 1.91.7, 1.93; Diod. Sic. 11.32. On this occasion the temenos of Herakles, the shrine of Apollo, and all the other extramural shrines of Thebes could have suffered considerably. If so, material from both sanctuaries could have been removed and dispersed. This, incidentally, was the case with the disposal of the dedicatory column from northwestern Thebes, probably from the area of the Hippodrome: Aravantinos 2006.

98 See now the *editio princeps* by Aravantinos and Papazarkadas 2012.

Conclusions

Throughout its turbulent history, Thebes was constantly under the protection of Herakles,[99] whom Theban coins represent in various poses. Thebes was saved from destruction after the battle of Plataia (479 BC), when it was accused of treachery and Medism; likewise, perhaps, after its defeat at Oenophyta (458/7 BC); it was spared by Lysander and Agesilaus (395 BC); it survived after the expulsion of the garrison of Phoebidas (379 BC); it was again spared both before and after Leuktra (371 BC); and it outlived the disaster at Chaeronea (338 BC), albeit temporarily. It finally succumbed to Alexander's troops and was destroyed in 335 BC, experiencing a suffering that few Greek *poleis* ever did.

We have already seen the mythical inscriptions related to the Ismenion and the Herakleion (cited respectively by Herodotus and Pausanias). We have briefly commented on these inscriptions since they appear to be directly or indirectly related to the cult of Herakles and his family. By now we know that inscriptions referring to both sanctuaries show up from time to time in excavations in various neighborhoods of southeastern Thebes, where they were moved, smashed, and reused for building purposes. Some other inscriptions, mostly dating to the late Hellenistic or the Roman periods, relate to the organization of games and contests in honor of Herakles and Iolaos (Herakleia, Iolaeia). They came to light some time ago, and have not been treated in this essay since they fall outside its chronological scope. The oldest mention of a celebration of Herakleia at Thebes is associated with the year 380/379, as known from Plutarch's *De genio Socratis*. We do not know when the games of the Herakleia in combination with the Iolaeia moved to the northeastern part of the Lower City, closer to the Agora and the Iolaeion, and not far from the Gate of Proitos. Our sources maintain that Alexander's camp during the fatal siege of Thebes was located very close by, and probably in the area of the Herakleion, but we know nothing more about the fortunes of the shrine until Pausanias' description of it.

Boeotian sanctuaries, cemeteries, and settlements have all produced vase inscriptions, which form a special epigraphic class, whether incised (as *graffiti*) or painted (as *dipinti*). Those from Kabirion and Tanagra have already been published,[100] while others remain unpublished, and sometimes even unknown to scholars. They stand alongside analogous material from outside Boeotia (e.g.,

99 As in the famous passage Xen. *Hell.* 6.7.4: "Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένου."

100 Kabirion: Wolters and Bruns 1940, pp. 43 ff.; Tanagra: Andreiomenou 1985, and eadem 2007.

from the Acropolis at Athens). Thebes until recently had not yielded substantial numbers of vase inscriptions, although huge deposits of pottery and terracotta figurines had been recovered in some of its greatest sanctuaries (e.g. the Thesmophoreion) in recent decades.[101] We now have almost 70 vase inscriptions from the excavations of a small section of the Theban Herakleion. These *graffiti* and *dipinti*, as well as the other inscriptions presented in this article, bring Archaic and early Classical Thebes back to the forefront of historical research.

Appendix: A Lost Dedication to Apollo Ismenios

Here I briefly present a fragment of an inscribed fluted column drum made of yellowish poros. It was found on October 12, 2001 at a salvage excavation conducted by the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in the Karaoulanis building plot on Anapafseos Street. The inscribed fragment was found built into the northwest edge of wall no. 6, and it was given the inv.no. Λ10. Unfortunately, it was illegally removed from the excavation site and is now known only from a photo (**fig. 75**), which was turned over to Interpol.

The diameter of the column was said to be 0.23 m; the height of the letters has not been recorded. The fragmentary inscription was carved in two flutes:

[- - -]ΕΔΑ̣Ρ̣[- - -]
[- - -]Μ̣ΕΝΙΟ̣[- - -]

In line 2, we almost certainly have a reference to Apollo Ismenios, e.g. genitive [Ἰσ]μ̣ενίο̣ or dative [Ἰσ]μ̣ενίο̣[ι]. The last surviving letter in line 1 seems to be a tailed rho rather than a beta. The sequence of letters would be compatible with the personal name [Π]εδάρ̣[ιτος]: he could well have been the dedicant. The lettering suggests a date in the 6th cent. BC.

101 Rich deposits of pottery and terracotta statuettes, certainly belonging to the Archaic and Classical phases of the Thesmophoreion, were excavated in the surroundings of Agios Georgios Square, in the northern part of Thebes, close to the Museum. On this material, which probably contains graffiti and dipinti, see Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975, p. 81.

FIGURE 75 *Inscribed column; photo courtesy of C. Koilakou*

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Four Inscribed Bronze Tablets from Thebes: Preliminary Notes

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Introduction

The inscribed bronze tablets that I present below were found in a plot situated in the suburb of Pyri, about 800 m. from the city center of Thebes. The plot was excavated by the local Ephorate of Antiquities in 2001–2002; the owner of the plot was planning to build a house and needed the permission of the Archaeological Service. The excavation brought to light a tomb-like cist (*theke*) of the sixth century BC. At its bottom were found, among other things, roof tiles with palmette antefixes, fragments of Archaic sculpture, fragments of a *perirrhanterion*, a fragmentary late Archaic inscribed column, a bone stylus, a few bronze *phialai*, and four inscribed bronze tablets.

The contents of the cist were probably deposited there when the cist was abandoned a little after the end of the fifth century, when earth and other debris from the surrounding area were deliberately thrown into it. I owe this information to Dr Vassilios Aravantinos, ex-Director of the Ephorate of Boeotian Antiquities, who has already published the important late Archaic inscribed column in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*.[1] In that same publication he also included a brief report on the excavation. I am indebted to him for his kind invitation to join him in publishing the inscribed bronze tablets. The text that follows is a preliminary report prior to our joint publication.

The Inscribed Tablets

Two of the tablets are inscribed on one side and two are opisthographic. The form of the letters suggests a date around the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century BC. A good parallel is the inscribed column mentioned above, which is probably dated to 507 BC. or shortly thereafter. The inscribed tablets are worn because of the oxidation of the metal; as a result, in many

1 Aravantinos 2006.

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places the text is difficult to read or totally illegible. The study of these difficult and demanding texts has not yet been completed. Therefore it is quite possible that some of the ideas presented here may be modified in the final publication. Nevertheless I find it useful to give some preliminary notes on the contents of the tablets.

FIGURE 1 *ΜΘ 35908* (*S. Mavrommatis; courtesy of the 9th E.P.C.A.*)

The first tablet (ΜΘ 35908) is intact, and it is written on one side. Its height is 4.5 cm and its length is 18 cm. On its left side there are two holes that hold the ring for the fastening of the tablet. The text is a note on the amount of money kept at a particular time in a treasury, belonging either to the state or to a certain sanctuary. The time is specified in the first line with the temporal clause: Ἀφ' ἧ ἐδ̣δεκα[τ]εύθε τ̣ὸργύ̣ριον (crasis for τὸ ἀργύριον).[2] The verb δεκατεύω means *to exact tithe from someone* or *make someone to pay a tithe* (see LSJ[9], s.v.), in other words the one tenth as either a *tax* or *tribute* or an *offering* to a god. Accordingly in the case of the Theban inscription the amount of five thousand, six hundred thirty-four drachmas and two and a half obeloi is what remained from an original sum after the deduction of the *tithe* as a tribute or as an offering to an unknown god.

2 Cf. *I.Délos* 72, ll. 3–4: τὸργύριον (but also τἀργύριον, see Ar. *Nub*. 1283:), τὸρτεμίσιον. On crasis see Goodwin 1894, pp. 15–16.

FIGURE 2 *MΘ 35913* (*courtesy of the 9th E.P.C.A.*)

The second tablet (MΘ 35913) is broken at the lower right corner. Of this broken right corner three small fragments that join both among themselves and to the tablet are preserved. There are also two or three more, very small fragments, which have no physical join. The height of the tablet is 10.1 cm and its length is 19 cm. It is also inscribed on one side.

The text most likely records an arbitration of a dispute over a certain piece of land. This can be concluded from ll. 5–6 which read κὲνίκασε̣ ha πόλις ha Θε̣βαί|ον κὲλευθεραίο̣[ν],[3] and from ll. 7–10, where the names of two χσενοδίκαι and three μάρτυρες are inscribed.[4] The two disputing parties were the Megarians (their ethnic is written at the beginning of l. 4: Μεγαρέε[ς]) on one side and the Thebans and the Eleutheraians on the other side (ll. 5–6).

Unfortunately lines 1–4 are very difficult to read. It seems that two pieces of land are mentioned, of which the second, which ends in [- -5–6- -]λ̣ειο̣ν, has been taken or claimed by the Megarians. The community from which the Megarians took or claimed the land is recorded in l. 4: Fασ[.]οι or Fασ[.]ιεῖς. The disputed land was in all likelihood located somewhere between the territories of these city-states.

3 κὲνίκασε (= κὴνίκασε = καὶ ἐνίκασε: for the crasis cf. *CID* I 9, face D, l. 34: κὴκ τᾶς δυωδεκαΐδ[ο]|ς χίμαιραν καὶ τὴμ Προν|αίαν δάρματα and Ar. *Ach*. 787: κὴρυθράν); κὲλευθεραίο̣[ν] = κὴλευθεραίω[ν], crasis for καὶ Ἐλευθεραίων (for the ethnic cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐλευθεραί).

4 For the meaning of the word as attested so far see LSJ[9], s.v.: *judges who tried suits concerning aliens*.

The fact that Eleutherai sided with Thebes is a strong indication that the document should be chronologically placed before the last decade of the sixth century BC., when Eleutherai probably came under Athenian control.[5]

Since Thebes is one of the parties involved in the dispute, the χσενοδίκαι cannot be Thebans; the same principle should apply to the witnesses. The fact that no ethnic follows after the names of the members of either of these boards of officials indicates that they were citizens of the city-state which acted as arbitrator. The tablet is a copy of the decision of this city delivered to Thebes.

To the best of my knowledge this is the earliest attestation of the word χσενοδίκαι,[6] and the present case would be the earliest Greek arbitration preserved on hard material. The earliest arbitration known before this discovery was that of Argos between Knossos and Tylissos.[7] Before I close the presentation of the context of this tablet I add a few notes.

L. 5: κἐνίκασε (= καὶ ἐνίκασε): the verb νικᾶν in judicial texts has the meaning *to prevail, be superior* (see LSJ[9]), cf. the fifth century inscription of Erythrai (*I.Erythrai* 2A, ll. 9–13):[8] ἢν δ' ἐκχωρῆι (*give up, cede*) ὁ δι|ώξας, ὀφελέτω ὅπερ ο|ἳ νικῶντι γίνεται, κ|αὶ τούτο δίωξιν ἔνα|ι κατὰ ταὐτά.

Ll. 6–7 and 8–10: while the noun χσενοδίκαι and the names that precede it are in the genitive, the noun μάρτυρες and the names with patronymics that follow are in the nominative; for such a construction cf. *CID* II 37, ll. 4–7: βρυτα|[νευόντ]ων Δελφῶν Ταραντίνου, …, Ἐτυμώνδα. Μάρτυρες Φωκαέων Ἀγήσιππος, etc., cf. *CID* II 38, ll. 7 ff., and 11 ff.[9]

Three of the names recorded on the tablet are unknown: Λιτέδες(?),[10] Ἀρετίον, and Πεδαβολίδας. The first, Λιτέδες (gen. Λιτέδειος, cf. Roesch, *I.Thespiai* 98, l. 23, Εὐτέλειος; 104, l. 16, Σωτέλειος; 84, l. 61, Ἐπιγένειος; *IG* VII 2782, l. 15, Ξενο-

5 Hansen and Nielsen 2004, pp. 431, 434, and 624, favor the year 506 BC, while Buck 1979, p. 113, argues for a date between 520–511 BC or a little earlier.

6 See *IG* IX^2.3.717 B, l. 11 (West Lokris, Chaleion, c. 500–450 BC).

7 Meiggs-Lewis 1988, no. 42 (ca. 450 BC).

8 Engelmann and Merkelbach 1972, no. 2.

9 In ll. 7–11 of *CID* II 38 there is improper syntax: while the participle is in the genitive (absolute), the names of the prytaneis are in the nominative: βρυτανευόντων Θηβ|αγόρας Ἐλίνιος, Ε[ὔ]δοκος Ἐπηράτου, Ἀρίστων | Λυντός, Εὔπολις Κλεοδάμου, Κλέω[ν] Αἰνησιδάμου, | [Ἀ]γασέας Εὐανγέλου, Θεόδωρος Κραττίδα, Τε|[λ]έδ[ωρ]ος Ἀλέξωνος. For similar improper constructions cf. *IvO* 36, l. 5, *IG* VII 1672, l. 4 (Boiotia), and recently *EAH* (2010) pp. 20–23 (Thouria, Messenia) [= *SEG* LVIII 397].

10 I am not sure about the form of the nominative of the name; based on its genitive (-δειος) it could well also be Λιτε(ι)δεύς, cf. γραμματεύς, *IG* VII 3172, l. 134: γραμματεῖος; Ἀκραιφιεύς, *IG* VII 2724 c, l. 3: Ἀκρηφιεῖος, etc.

φάνειος; *IG* VII 511, l. 2, Ἀμινοκλεῖος), derives from the verb λίσσομαι[11]/λίτομαι = *beg*, *pray* (see LSJ[9], s.vv.).[12] The second, Ἀρετίον (= Ἀρετίων), derives from the name Ἀρέτων known from Megaris and Thessaly, see *LGPN* III.B, p. 50, s.v.; cf. Καλλιτίων and Καλλίτων (*LGPN* III.B, p. 223, s.vv.), Τελεσίων and Τελέσων (*LGPN* III.B, pp. 402–403, s.vv.), etc.

The last, Πεδαβολίδας, has as its first element the preposition πεδά, Doric and Aeolic form of μετά. Probably the name derives from the adjective μετάβουλος, cf. Ar. *Ach*. 632 (see LSJ[9], s.v.: *changing one's mind*, *changeful*).

FIGURE 3 *MΘ 35909: detail* (*S. Mavrommatis, courtesy of the 9th E.P.C.A.*)

The third tablet (MΘ 35909) is opisthographic. On side B guidelines were drawn for the inscribing of the letters. The same hand has inscribed both sides; it seems, however, that the "cutter" did not avoid making mistakes, for example: side A, l. 3, ἀν⟨έ⟩λασαν: the epsilon has been omitted; l. 9: the size of a property has been omitted. Side B: in ll. 3 and 5, two words have been left incomplete: βλέθ⟨ρα⟩ and Ἀριστογει⟨τονίας⟩; more importantly, in ll. 4, 8, 10, 12 and 14, entries were omitted. Finally, the arrangement of the text presents another peculiarity:

11 One cannot say with any certainty whether the name Λιτέδες appears here in archaic simplification (with one τ) or not. In the latter case the form of the name would be Λιττέδες; for the use of the double ττ instead of σσ in the Boiotian dialect see Bechtel 1921 I, p. 248.

12 For other personal names deriving from the stem of this verb, see Bechtel 1917, p. 286.

the ending of the final word of the last line of side B is inscribed above the first line of the same side. This peculiarity appears also in a fifth century tablet recording a proxeny decree of the Thessalian city of Thetonion for the Corinthian Sotairos, see *IG* IX.2.257.

On both sides of the tablet, certain landed properties or parts of them that were leased or sold by the Theban officers have been recorded. That it is an official document can be inferred from the fact that the leases or sales are followed by two similar entries recording the officials who were responsible for this operation.

In the first entry (side A, ll. 2–4) a board called πρόραρχοι (= φρούραρχοι) is mentioned; as far as I know, this board was previously unattested in Thebes.[13] Of the prorarchoi only those present (τοὶ ἐπίδαμοι) are mentioned along with a certain Oligos (πεδὰ Ὀλίγο), who presumably was the *primus inter pares* among the *prorarchoi*.

The βολά is also mentioned, which is dated by the addition of an adverbial phrase: hα ἐπὶ Ἀγέλα (the council which was in office in the time of Agelas).[14] Agelas must be the eponymous archon of the Thebans. In the second entry (side B, ll. 1 and 16), there is again an adverbial phrase denoting the time: ἐπὶ Πτοιοδόρο. The *bola*, however, is absent; moreover, the board of *prorarchoi* is not confined to those present and the *primus inter pares* does not appear. Finally, another board (or is it a tribal formation?) comes to the fore, the *pratidioi*. I shall return to this word below.

The verb which is used here to describe the nature of the action performed by these magistrates regarding the landed properties is ἀνέλασαν (= ἀνήλασαν); it is found two times in the text, in l. 3 of side A and in l. 16 of side B. The verb is, so far as I know, unattested. It is the aorist of the verb ἀνελαύνω. There is however a noun ἀνελατήρ deriving from the same root; it is found in the plural in the bronze tablets from Argos. C. Kritzas, who studies the Argive tablets, explains the noun as follows: "the ἀνελατῆρες are a board of Argive officials who impose penalties or fines."[15] In my opinion, the verb, as it appears in the Theban tablet, has the meaning *to sell*, most probably after confiscation. The verb, that is, denotes the act of public auction.

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13 The form πρόραρχοι finds parallels in Thessaly in the words ἀρχιπρουρείσας (= ἀρχιφρουρείσας), σύμπρουροι (= σύμφρουροι), *IG* IX.2.1058a (Mopsion, early third cent. BC); ἀρχίπρουρος, προυροί, Helly, *Gonnoi* II, 147; προύρρα, *SEG* XXXVII 494.

14 The name Ἀγέλας is not attested in Boiotia but does appear at Delphi: see *LGPN* III.B, p. 7, s.v.

15 Kritzas 2007, pp. 142–144.

The word πρατιδίον is also unattested. It is the genitive plural of the noun πρατίδιοι, which could possibly, but not necessarily, have the same root as the noun πρᾶσις (= *sale*) and the adjective πρατός (see LSJ[9], s.v.: *for sale*). Nevertheless it could also derive from a word (a place name?)[16] with the root πρατ- (= πρωτ-, πρῶτος).[17] In the first case the name would be a Theban board, in the second a tribal formation (Πρατίδιοι).

It is strange that the noun is in the genitive (plural) while the definite article is in the nominative.[18] It could hardly be explained as a partitive genitive with the article τοί, since the latter has the meaning of the definite article and sometimes that of the relative pronoun;[19] so far as I know, the article is not attested with the meaning of the indefinite pronoun. It therefore seems that a noun in the nominative plural, to which the article is attributed, is missing; in other words, the cutter has made one more mistake in copying the text of the inscription. Should one perhaps understand that the phrase τοὶ πρατιδίον means that not all the members of the board would have taken part in the auction, but only some of them (for example those present: τοὶ ἐπίδαμοι)? Or, in the case that we are dealing with a tribal formation, should we understand "those of the Pratidioi who are responsible"?

The Owners. The properties of seven persons were leased or sold; the name of one person is missing. The number of the properties leased or sold is at least twenty-two. There is no topographical grouping of the properties.

Of the properties preserved on the tablet and those assumed with certainty six belong to Ἀριστογείτων, five to Ἰάρων and another five to Φίθ(θ)ε,[20] two or possibly three to Κλείδωρος, two others to an individual whose name is not preserved, and one to Ἱπποκλειάδας. Finally there is one, the inheritance of Daikleidas, located in a particular place. The word πανκλαρία (παγκληρία in Attic; in l. 1 of side A) means *entire possession*, *property*, *estate*, and also *inheritance* (see LSJ[9], s.v.).

16 Cf. the Ὑποκνημίδιοι (Λοκροί).

17 Cf. the Boiotian names Πράταρχος, Πρατόλαος, Πρατόχαρις, (*LGPN* III.B, p. 362, s.vv).

18 When the definite article is followed by a genitive singular of a personal name, the genitive is normally possessive and the construction denotes a *genos*, cf. τοὶ Νιράχα ἀνέθεν (Argos, early sixth century BC; *LSAG*[2] Argos 6, pl. 26), οἱ Παρμένοντος, οἱ Μνασέος, etc. (Chios, third cent. BC; Malouchou 2006).

19 See Bechtel 1921 I, p. 300.

20 Φίθ(θ)ε = Πίθθει, for the latter see *LGPN* III.B, p. 345, s.v. (Thespiai: third/second cent. BC). The name is attested in Wachter 2001, BOI 5B, in the form Φίθε (cf. *LGPN* III.B, p. 420, s.v. Φίθη).

Most of the properties are specified with a possessive adjective,[21] for example: Ἀριστογειτονία, ηιαρονία, Κλειδορία. Ἀριστογειτονία is the property of Ἀριστογείτων; ηιαρονία is the property of ηιάρον (= Ἱέρων in Attic), Κλειδορία is the property of Κλείδωρος (cf. Κλείδαμος, Κλείμαχος, Κλειμήδης), a name attested in a late inscription from Delphi, *F.Delphes* III 6, 135.6.

The Entries. Each entry is typically comprised of the following elements: 1) the name of the owner of the property; 2) the place where the property is located; 3) the size of the property.

Twelve place names can be read: these toponyms are those of the locations of the properties, for example Ἄσοπός (= Ἄσωπός), Ϝεργίνομος (or -ον), Εὔακρον Ὕπατος (or -ον).

Of the place names a few can be located in general terms. This is true, for instance, of the following two categories:

1. Those that have a topographical relation to the river Asopos. A certain property of Aristogeiton is described as ἐπ' Ἀσοπῖ. A second property of Aristogeiton is described as δι' Ἀσοπῖ. Two properties of Hiaron are described as ποτ' Εὐάκροι δι' Ἀσοπῖ.
2. Two properties, one owned by Hiaron and one by Aristogeiton, are located ποτ' Ὑπάτοι. It is known from Pausanias (9.19.3) that there was a mountain called Hypatos (modern Σαγματᾶς) on the top of which there was a temple of Zeus Hypatos and a cult statue of the god. This mountain is in the north-eastern corner of the Theban plain.

Other place names have so far been difficult to locate; for example, a property of Phittheis is referred to as: πο(τ) Τροπονίοι. Τροπόνιον (= Τροφώνιον; for the form with psilosis, cf. Λαπουστίων) should probably be the famous sanctuary of Trophonios in Levadeia. This identification, however, causes serious problems, to which I shall return at the end of these notes.

The Size of the Properties. The measures used throughout the text are: βλέθρον (= πλέθρον), σφῦρα, στᾶτις (or στατίς), ηεμιστατίδιον, ηαυλά. Of these measures βλέθρον and σφῦρα are known. The latter is attested in a Boiotian inscription from Roman times (*IG* VII 2415, l. 22) and in another from Phokis of the second century AD (*IG* IX.1.61, l. 39). The rest are unattested.

21 The use of the possessive adjective instead of the possessive genitive is attested in the Boiotian dialect: see Bechtel 1921 II, pp. 295–297.

Before I pass to the important questions raised by the inscription I would like to comment on the name Ὄλιγος,[22] because of its rarity. As I have already mentioned, he is probably referred to as *primus inter pares* of the board of the *epidamoi prorarchoi*. The name is probably attested once more in Boiotia. It is inscribed on the handle of a late Archaic bronze vessel from Olympia: *SEG* XLII 382 J: Ὄλιγος μ' ἀνέθεκε Ὀλπριχίδαο τõι Δὶ Ὀλυνπίοι. The inscribed vessel has been attributed to Boiotia. The date, the rarity of the name Oligos, and the fact that he held an office, and an important one as it seems, make it possible that he was the same man who dedicated the bronze vessel at Olympia. Accordingly it offers support for dating the inscription to the same period, which accords well with its dating by letter forms, the comparandum being, as I mentioned at the outset, the inscribed dedication column.

The inscription raises important questions: 1. Were the properties inscribed on it leased or sold? 2. Were these properties confiscated? 3. Does the inscription offer any firm indication as to the topographical extent of the properties? Were they confined to the Theban territory? 4. Can we advance a more specific date for the inscription?

1. One cannot say with certainty whether this land is leased or sold. Nevertheless I would prefer sale, because of the verb ἀνελαύνω in combination with the board of πρατίδιοι, which I discussed previously.
2. Here the answer is more uncertain. Again based on the verb ἀνελαύνω and the noun πρατίδιοι I would be inclined to suggest that the properties were confiscated. There is, however, a factor against this interpretation: prices are not noted for the properties sold, while there are such prices in the case of the properties confiscated at Athens from those condemned for the profanation of the Mysteries or for the mutilation of the herms. The same is true for the properties of those who plotted against Maussolos and the city of Iasos and were condemned, *Syll.*[3] 169. In view of this difficulty, one could suggest that this is the record of the proclamation of the auction before the sale.
3. Many of the properties were located near Asopos and of course they could be part of the Theban territory. It is definitely in Theban territory where we should ascribe the two properties at the foot of Mt. Hypatos. As for the other pieces of landed property, one cannot give a definitive answer for the time being. What, however, of the property located ποτ Τροπονίοι? It is most probable that this Trophonion was the well-known sanctuary near Lebadeia, which definitely did not belong to the Thebans. My former student Dr.

22 For the accentuation on the antepenult, cf. Bechtel 1917, p. 301: Μέγαλος (= *LGPN* III.B, s.v.).

Yannis Kalliontzis has kindly suggested to me that this property could have been owned by a Theban in the context of the Boiotian *koinon*. The existence of the Boiotian *koinon* as early as the last quarter of the sixth century BC., and more specifically around 520, was strongly supported by R.J. Buck.[23] Since apart from this property there is no clear indication of any other property located outside the Theban territory, it would be better for the time being not to proceed further in this direction.

Let us now turn to the fourth and final question: can we envisage a more precise date for the inscription? Herodotos refers to an arbitration of the Corinthians between the Athenians and the Thebans. Their decision was to draw a frontier:

> When the Thebans heard this, they marched against the Plataeans, but the Athenians came to their aid. As they were about to join battle, the Corinthians, who happened to be there, prevented them and brought about a reconciliation. Since both sides desired them to arbitrate, they fixed the boundaries of the country on condition that the Thebans leave alone those Boeotians who were unwilling to be enrolled as Boeotian. After rendering this decision, the Corinthians departed. The Boeotians attacked the Athenians as they were leaving but were defeated in battle. The Athenians went beyond the boundaries the Corinthians had made for the Plataeans, fixing the Asopus river as the boundary for the Thebans in the direction of Plataea and Hysiae.[24]
>
> transl. by GODLEY 1922

These events are dated by scholars to ca. 520 BC.[25] Could the inscription have a chronological relation to these events? The answer is probably yes, if one takes into account that six properties have a topographical relation to the Asopos river; one is ἐπ' Ἀσοπῖοι and five δι' Ἀσοπᾶ.

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23 See Buck 1979, pp. 107–120; cf. Hansen and Nielsen 2004, pp. 431–432.

24 Hdt. 6.108.5: Θηβαῖοι δὲ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας· Ἀθηναῖοι δέ σφι ἐβοήθεον. Μελλόντων δὲ συνάπτειν μάχην Κορίνθιοι οὐ περιεῖδον, παρατυχόντες δὲ καὶ καταλλάξαντες ἐπιτρεψάντων ἀμφοτέρων οὔρισαν τὴν χώρην ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ἐὰν Θηβαίους Βοιωτῶν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν. Κορίνθιοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα γνόντες ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Ἀθηναίοισι δὲ ἀπιοῦσι ἐπεθήκαντο Βοιωτοί, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ ἐσσώθησαν τῇ μάχῃ. Ὑπερβάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἔθηκαν Πλαταιεῦσι εἶναι οὔρους, τούτους ὑπερβάντες τὸν Ἀσωπὸν αὐτὸν ἐποιήσαντο οὖρον Θηβαίοισι πρὸς Πλαταιέας εἶναι καὶ Ὑσιάς.

25 See Buck 1979; Hansen favors the year 519, following Hornblower 1991, pp. 464–465.

FIGURE 4 *MΘ 35914* (*S. Mavrommatis; courtesy of the 9th E.P.C.A.*)

The fourth tablet (MΘ 35914) is the second opisthographic one. Although it is intact, it is very worn on one of its sides and presents the greatest difficulty for reading and understanding. The text of the second side seems to refer to regulations concerning the participation in a common meal, probably of an unknown sanctuary. Then a list of a board of twenty-two persons follows under a heading; the heading is an unattested noun θοίνατροι (θοίνατρος in singular; for the ending, cf. ἰατρός, μαστρός). The word derives from the feminine noun θοίνα (Ionic: θοίνη) which means *meal, feast*. (see LSJ[9], s.v.). Two nouns with the same root are so far attested, θοινατήρ, -ῆρος, ὁ (LSJ[9], s.v.: *one who gives a feast*) and συνθοινάτωρ, -ορος, ὁ (LSJ[9], s.v.: *partaker in a feast*).

As I have already noted, the study of these difficult texts, at least three of the tablets, is still in progress. The preliminary notes provided here are meant to indicate the content of these interesting texts and the difficulties they present. I hope that the excavator and I will soon be able to publish them properly.

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Two New Epigrams from Thebes

Nikolaos Papazarkadas

Recent rescue excavations conducted in and around Thebes have brought to light some extraordinary archaeological material, including numerous inscriptions.[1] Without a doubt the epigraphic highlight of this recent crop was the inscribed *kioniskos* published by Dr. Aravantinos in *BSA* in 2006.[2] More recently, Dr. Aravantinos and I published another important historical document, the earliest extant treaty from ancient Thebes.[3] In this essay I provide the editio princeps of two more new inscriptions. Both texts are poetic, and they are further connected by means of an unusual epigraphic experiment, as the reader will soon discover. They represent however two different genres, and although qualitative judgment should be resisted, text no. II is potentially one of the most important Greek inscriptions to have been discovered in recent years, for reasons that will become apparent by the end of the essay.

I. Inscribed Funerary Stele

In the early third millennium, the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities undertook excavations ahead of the construction of a submerged motorway for the Greek Railways Organization. This work led to the discovery of an extensive assemblage of graves, the so-called Northeastern Cemetery. A

1 I have presented the texts at Berkeley, Princeton, Tallahassee, Manchester, Durham, and Athens, and I would like to thank the audiences of all these venues for their comments and useful suggestions. I am grateful to Y. Kalliontzis who has helped me repeatedly with the strenuous work of reading two extremely difficult texts, and to A.P. Matthaiou for sharing with me his unparalleled expertise in Greek epigraphy by discussing in extenso several aspects of these documents. My gratitude also goes to P. Thonemann, for reasons explained below in the commentary to text II, and to M. Griffith for discussing the meter of both epigrams with me. For the drawing of the second monument and good archeological advice I am indebted to E. Sioumbara. Most of all, I am grateful to V. Aravantinos who with his characteristic generosity gave up his publishing rights by assigning me the privilege of publishing these intriguing texts.

2 Aravantinos 2006, pp. 367–377 (= *SEG* LVI 521).

3 Aravantinos and Papazarkadas 2012. The treaty, arguably set up in the shrine of Herakles, casts fascinating light on early Theban aspirations toward establishing and expanding their hegemony.

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more detailed account of several funerary inscriptions discovered there can be found in chapter 9 (Bonanno-Aravantinos) of this volume. Here I restrict myself to just one funerary deposit, grave no. N359, which was excavated in March 2001 in the south sector of the cemetery.[4] N359 is a cist grave constructed of ancient recycled material, primarily funerary stelae that were re-employed in secondary use.[5] Although the other stelae do not lack interest, the most extraordinary find was the funerary stele with the inv. no. 33459, which is now stored in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes.

Description: Orthogonal funerary stele (inv. no. 33459), made of soft yellowish poros.[6] The surface of the front is unfortunately very eroded, especially on its left side, with the result that only the right half of the eight-line inscription is legible. Special photographic techniques have enabled the reading of scattered letters on the left side that are not however of much help. Height: 0.73 m.; width: 0.52 m.; thickness: 0.17 m.; letter height 0.012–0.018 m. (**Fig. 1**)

Text A

[----------]ΕΡΕΤΟΝ[..]Τ[.]
[–⏑⏑ |–⏑⏑ |– | ἐν? π]ολέμυ [θ]ανέμεν
[–⏑⏑ |–⏑⏑ |– ⏑⏑ | –]πατρίδος πέρι Θέβας̣
[–⏑⏑ |–]εντο ἆθλα κράτιστ' ἀρετᾶς

Text B

[----------]ΛΥ. . Ḥ̣ΡΕΤΟΝ[.]Υ̣ΤΟ
[–⏑⏑ |–⏑⏑ |– | ἐν π]ο̣λέμοι θανέμεν
[–⏑⏑ |–⏑⏑ |–⏑⏑ | –]πατρίδος πέρι Θείβα[ς]
[.]ΝΑ[– – – –]εντο ἆθλα κράτιστ' ἀρετᾶς

The new funerary stele belongs to a type that is rather well-known in Boeotia. It has been discussed by Fossey in the context of Tanagra,[7] but his observations can apply to Thebes as well. In Thebes the type is represented by a handful of

4 See Aravantinos 2001–2004 [2011], pp. 142–143. Brief mention by D. Knoepfler, *BE* (2012) no. 201.

5 According to Aravantinos 2001–2004 [2011] the tomb was made of 16 fragments of funerary stelai.

6 I.e., what archaeologists and epigraphists have traditionally, but apparently imprecisely, called poros; Aravantinos 2001–2004 [2011], p. 142, has described the material as ψαμμίτης, i.e. sandstone.

7 Fossey 1991, pp. 200–201.

FIGURE 1 *Funerary stele inv. no. 33459; photo O. Kourakis*

FIGURE 2 *Funerary stele inv. no. 33459: detail of the inscription*

important examples, including an unpublished funerary stele with an epigram for a dancer;[8] and an older find (Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 1499), an epigram for a certain Pythokles who died in some unidentified battle.[9]

As mentioned above, the surface of the stone is very worn, and although with artificial light one is able to discern scattered worn letters here and there, these are of little help. A total of eight inscribed lines can be read. A cursory glance at the stele, however, shows something extraordinary: what we have here is the same four-line epigram,[10] carved twice (**Fig. 2**). Closer inspection shows that the same epigram was written in two different scripts. The upper register is in

8 The inscription, probably of the 5th century BC, will be published by Angelos P. Matthaiou in a volume in memory of S.N. Koumanoudes.

9 I had the opportunity to present this epitaph in 2010 at the 6th International Congress of Boeotian Studies, the proceedings of which will include the *editio princeps*.

10 The language is patently poetic and belongs to the military and, more broadly, agonistic lexicon of elegiac poetry, as will be shown below.

the Boeotian script (text A),[11] whereas the script used for the text of the lower register is some form of the Ionic (text B). I will return to this phenomenon below, but first I provide a commentary on what can be deciphered.

Line 1: This line has presented me with major difficulties. In line 1 of text B, the dotted letter is either an H or ⊢. The latter is thought to represent E, EI, or H (especially in Thebes).[12] In a Histiaian epigram, *CEG* 785, ll. 1–2, we read:[13] λισσ[ό]μ̣ενος δὲ θεõι νίκες hαβρὸν <u>hέρετο</u> κῦδος | ᾇ̣θ̣[- -$^{4-5}$ - -]στε[φ]άνοι κα̣λ̣λικίθονι̣[. .] δ̣οι. This is a dedicatory epigram by a certain Kephalos who had 'got from the goddess the delicate glory of victory' (νίκες hαβρὸν hέρετο κῦδος). hέρετο is the crucial verb, second aorist of ἄρνυμαι, 'to win', 'to gain'.[14] In view of the agonistic connotations of l. 4 of the new epigram (see below ad loc.), the reading ἤρετον would appear to be very tempting. This could well be a dual aorist form; if so, the deceased were two, either friends or brothers, a phenomenon not totally unknown in funerary poetry. As in the famous Simonidian epigram *CEG* 4 (χαίρετε ἀριστẽες, πολέμου μέγα κῦδος ἔχοντες | κõροι Ἀθεναίον, ἔχσοχοι hιπποσύναι | hοί ποτε καλλιχόρο περὶ πατρίδος ὀλέσατε hέβεν | πλείστοις hελλάνον ἀντία βαρνάμενοι), what Gjert Vestreheim recently called "a nameless and featureless voice" addresses the deceased;[15] in this case we could translate: "and the two of you gained there (ἤρετον αὐτοῦ) glory" vel sim. Incidentally, the scenario whereby two brothers died at the same battle is not improbable: we know from Pindar's 4th *Isthmian* for Melissos that four members of the victor's family had died on the same day, most likely at the Battle of Plataea.[16] However, given the poor state of preservation of the stone and the uncertainty of the proposed readings, and in view of other objections described below, I merely propose this interpretation as one possibility.

Line 2: Comparison of the two variations of the second verse of the epigram provides new, albeit inconclusive, evidence of a linguistic phenomenon that has long perplexed dialectologists. In line 2 of text A, we unproblematically read πολέμυ (with an upsilon). In line 2 of text B, this has been transcribed as πολέμοι. The interchangeability of upsilon with the diphthong omikron-iota in the dative endings of second declension nouns has been known for a long time:

11 The Boeotian script is a version of the so-called orthodox Chalkidian script.

12 See Mendez Dosuna 1995.

13 Ed. pr. by Cairns 1983.

14 The aspiration of the verb in the Histiaian epigram is irregular, and most probably does not appear in our text, if this is the enigmatic verb of ll. A1 and B1.

15 Verstheim 2010, esp. pp. 67–71.

16 Pind. *Isthm.* 4.16–17: ἀλλ' ἁμέραι γὰρ ἐν μιᾶι | τραχεῖα νιφὰς πολέμοιο τεσσάρων | ἀνδρῶν ἐρήμωσεν μάκαιραν ἑστίαν, with Willcock 1995, p. 76.

in text A we probably have the earliest known example of the upsilon-variant.[17] In any case, we should probably restore [ἐν π]ολέμυ ([ἐν π]ο̣λέμοι in text B line 2), which is metrically sound, producing the second half of a pentameter.

Also of interest is the aorist infinitive θανέμεν, "to die", in its first occurrence in lapidary poetry. Athematic infinitives are quite at home in Boeotia, and although Homeric poetry makes use of them,[18] much more relevant is their appearance in the work of that Theban literary giant, Pindar himself. In fact, the only other known attestation of θανέμεν is found in Pindaric poetry.[19] Dying in war is of course a common theme of funerary epitaphs,[20] and the new epigram simply adds to the relevant material. The topic anticipates the patriotic content of line 3.

Line 3: Θέβας of text A has been rendered as Θείβας in text B. This phenomenon, observable in Boeotian—and even in Thessalian—dialects, is something to be expected: as has long been observed, the sound of H in these dialects became so close that when the Ionic alphabet was introduced, it was represented by EI, as here.[21] Note also the use of the singular Θήβα, instead of plural Θῆβαι, a poetic form already extant in the *Iliad*.[22]

Line 4: This verse is metrically rough.[23] We should probably understand that a spondee is replacing the second dactyl, which is permissible in the first hemiepes. Moreover, we observe *brevis in longo* in the case of the omikron, combined with hiatus between the first and second hemiepes, something that is canonically avoided, although exceptions in Theognidean poetry have long been observed.[24] The second hemiepes, ἆθλα κράτιστ' ἀρετᾶς is readily

17 The classic analysis is that of Vottéro 1995, who at p. 93 collects the relevant evidence, and shows that the earliest dative form in upsilon dates to the 4th century BC. The inscription under consideration appears to push this date back by at least a century, as we will see below.

18 Hom. *Od*. 11.264–265: … ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ' ἐδύναντο | ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, etc.

19 Pind. *Pyth*. 4.72–73: θέσφατον ἦν Πελίαν | ἐξ ἀγαυῶν Αἰολιδᾶν θανέμεν χεί|ρεσσιν ἢ βουλαῖς ἀκνάμπτοις ("It was fated that Pelias would perish because of the proud Aiolidai, at their hands or through their inflexible counsels"; tr. Race 1997a).

20 A famous Attic example, with similar phraseology, is the epigram for Tetichos, *CEG* 13: [εἴτε ἀστό]ς τις ἀνὲρ εἴτε χσένος | ἄλοθεν ἐλθόν : Τέτιχον οἰκτίρα|ς ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν παρίτο, : ἐν πολέμοι | φθίμενον, νεαρὰν hέβεν ὀλέσαντα.

21 Buck 1955, p. 25.

22 For instance, Hom. *Il*. 4.406: ἡμεῖς καὶ Θήβης ἕδος εἴλομεν ἑπταπύλοιο; cf. Ebeling 1885, s.vv. Θῆβαι and Θήβη.

23 I can do nothing with the two letters NA in the beginning of B, L.4.

24 West 1982, pp. 45–46 with n. 43 (where the author notes hiatus and *brevis in longo* in the metrical inscription *CEG* 407 from Rhamnous); Gentili and Lomiento 2007, pp. 266–267.

reminiscent of a passage from the end of Thucydides' famous *Funeral Oration*: Εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρόσφορα, καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἤδη κεκόσμηνται, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρις ἥβης θρέψει, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδέ τε καὶ τοῦς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα· ἆθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσιν.[25] In his *Commentary on Thucydides*, Simon Hornblower aptly noted: "Thucydides' use of these words raises the question of a very curious omission in the whole section: a very well-attested part of the public funeral was an *epitaphios agon* or contest, for which see Vanderpool, *Archaeologikon Deltion* 24A (1969) … Thucydides' omission of the whole topic is deliberate and (in view of the choice of words in the present passage) defiant".[26] I think that the language of the new epigram also refers to contests of this sort.

I start with the Karabournaki bronze vessel, first properly published by Eugene Vanderpool in the article cited by Hornblower.[27] This is one of three bronze vessels that have been identified as prizes for the funeral contests held in Attica in memory of Athenian casualties.[28] The unproblematic identification is based on the inscription: Ἀθēναῖοι ἆθλ⟨α⟩ ⟨ἐ⟩πὶ τοῖς ἐν τõι πολέμοι: "The Athenians (offer these) prizes for those who died in war." Now, the form of the vessel is readily reminiscent of a hydria on display in the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence: it does not take much archaeological training to see that the two vessels are similar in shape. The provenance of the Providence hydria, which is dated to ca. 480–470 BC, is unknown, but the inscription on the rim is Boeotian and its content has never left any doubts about where the vessel was manufactured: τõν Θέβαις αἴθλον.[29] But which games?

25 Thuc. 2.46. S. Lattimore translates: "In words, as much as I in my turn could say suitably in accordance with the custom has been said, and in deed, these have been honored in burial now, and from this time the city will rear their sons at public expense until they are of age, conferring on both the dead and their survivors a beneficial crown for such contests as these. For it is among those who establish the greatest prizes for courage that men are the best citizens".

26 Hornblower 1991, p. 315. A good synopsis of the Athenian ἀγὼν ἐπιτάφιος can be found in Pritchett 1985, pp. 106–124.

27 Vanderpool 1969, pp. 3–5, no. 3; now *IG* I^3 525.

28 The three inscriptions are published in the corpus as *IG* I^3 523, 524, and 525.

29 The inscription can be found in Jeffery 1990, p. 95, no. 16; pl. 9. For the hydria itself see Jacobsthal 1933, pp. 21–22 with figs. 10–11, who, however, failed to describe the vessel as a prize for funeral games. Robinson 1942, pp. 180–182 with figs. 12–13, gives a detailed description of the vessel and the accompanying inscription but makes no attempt at identifying the games in question. For detailed linguistic discussion of this and other similar texts, see Loeschhorn 2007, pp. 326–335.

Here again Pindar may be of some help. Pindar's 4th *Isthmian* gives an account of a festival held in honor of Herakles: καὶ δεύτερον ἅμαρ ἐτείων τέρμ' ἀέθλων γίνεται, ἰσχύος ἔργον.[30] Of particular interest for our discussion is the reference to the ἄεθλα. The games were held not only to honor Herakles but also his descendants; indeed, the scholiast to Pindar explicitly mentions the ἐπιτάφιοι ἀγῶνες.[31] The games held at Marathon to honor the dead of the homonymous battle are likely to have been organized in the framework of a Herakleian festival as well.[32] One wonders whether the Pindaric games are precisely the contests at which the Providence hydria was given as a prize.

Strangely, the word ἆθλα does not feature prominently in early epigrams. One notable exception is the occurrence of the term, in the same dialectal form αἶθλα, in a Boeotian dedicatory inscription from Delphi that commemorates non-public *funeral games*.[33] Thus, even though my hypothesis falls short of a full proof, an array of features—the inscribed Theban hydria, its striking resemblance to the Athenian hydria from Karabournaki, and the Boeotian dedication from Delphi—seem to strengthen the theory that funeral contests were held in Thebes. The allusions in line 4 of the new funerary epigram would further appear to corroborate the whole hypothesis. In any case, a restoration such as θέντο ἆθλα κράτιστ' ἀρετᾶς, "they set the best prizes of virtue",[34] though somewhat metrically inelegant, probably renders the general tenor.[35]

As for the peculiarity of the double inscribing of the epitaph, there are two explanations worth probing: either the two versions were written at approximately the same time; or one of the two texts, presumably the one in the Ionic script, was written later. I withhold a definite answer for the time being, although I note that *a priori* the second explanation seems more plausible.

Regarding the crux of the approximate date, given that the stele was not found *in situ*, we must rely primarily on the lettering, which is admittedly not

30 Pind. *Isthm.* 4.68–69: "And on the second day is the conclusion of the annual games, the labor of strength" (tr. Race 1997b).

31 Schol. Pind., *Isthm.* 4.104b: μετὰ ταῦτα Ἡρακλῆς ἀνεῖλε τοὺς ἐκ Μεγάρας παῖδας κατὰ ταύτας τὰς πύλας, ἐφ' αἷς κατ' ἔτος Θηβαῖοι ἐναγίζουσί τε τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους ἄγουσιν ("Afterwards, Herakles killed the sons of Megara at these gates, at which every year the Thebans offer sacrifices to her sons and hold funeral contests").

32 Koumanoudes 1978, pp. 237–238; Matthaiou 2003, pp. 190–202.

33 *CEG* 444 (550 BC?) Λαϝόσοϝός μ' ἐπὶ παιδὶ ἑϝοῖ αἶθλα ἔδοκε Εὐθ[ύ]μοι.

34 The theory that ἔντο is the third person plural of the present imperative of εἰμί, i.e. ὄντων (cf. C.D. Buck 1955, pp. 128 and 152) should be rejected because it violates Attic syntax.

35 I would like to emphasize that I consider this line to be an allusion to, not an actual representation of, the funeral games held in Thebes.

the safest guide. I offer here the following observations on individual letters in text A:

– Alpha is unusually curved.
– Beta has two semi-circular loops, of which the upper one is slightly larger.
– The 'Latin type' delta is almost an isosceles triangle.
– Epsilon is an important letter: it is tailed: its vertical stretches beyond the lower horizontal. Furthermore, its three parallel strokes all lean downwards.
– The tail of rho is tiny, almost infinitesimal.
– Sigma is of the three-bar type.
– Upsilon is another interesting letter-form, consisting as it does of a vertical stroke and an upwards slanting stroke to the right of the vertical. As Jeffery observed in her *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, this early form persists into the second quarter of the 5th century but it disappears afterwards.[36] This would give us ca. 450 BC as the *terminus ante quem* for the first epigram.

All in all, the lettering looks very similar to that of a recently published small, inscribed column, which on historical grounds can be securely dated to 506 BC.[37] The lettering of the funerary stele is, if not contemporary, then only slightly later. One would probably not err in dating it to the late 6th or the early 5th century BC. This date tallies well with the pattern emerging from the recent quantitative analysis of sepulchral and dedicatory epigrams by Ewen Bowie, who has demonstrated that poems consisting of two elegiac distichs peaked for the first time in the first quarter of the 5th century BC.[38]

The second text is equally if not more difficult to date. Its lettering is neat, without any superfluous decorative elements. The rho lacks a tail; sigmas are of the four-bar type. We have seen that EI has been used to render eta in line 3. On the other hand, the dative in line 3 has an omikron instead of an omega. Similar forms appear in the Boeotian (i.e. Theban) decree in honor of a Carthaginian, *IG* VII 2407, which dates to the 360s.[39] The question of the introduction of the

36 Jeffery 1990, pp. 90–91.

37 Aravantinos 2006 (= *SEG* LVI 521); cf. Berti 2010. Krentz 2007, pp. 73–79, would associate *SEG* LVI 521 with the conflict between the Athenians and the Aiginetans in 490 BC, whereas Figueira 2010, pp. 200–201, with the events of 480–79 BC. I prefer Aravantinos' interpretation.

38 See E. Bowie 2010, pp. 313–384, esp. the table "Lengths of verse inscriptions 750–400 BC" at 378–379, with the following results: 575–550 BC, one funerary elegiac poem of two distichs; 550–525 BC, none; 525–500 BC, one example; 500–475: seven examples.

39 Rhodes and Osborne 2003, no. 43.

Ionic alphabet to Boeotia has long troubled scholars. Good recent work by Guy Vottéro has shown that the 370s—after the liberation of Thebes and before the battle of Leuktra—seems to be the crucial period. A date around that time for the re-inscribed epigram also looks epigraphically tenable.[40]

If the proposed chronological framework is right, we need to find an appropriate historical event for the death of the men commemorated in the epigram. The military events of 506 BC present one possibility; these must have taken their toll on the Theban army. Another possibility, and one that I consider more likely, is the Persian Wars.[41] One could even think of the Thebans who fell at the battle of Plataea or in the ensuing siege of their city, soldiers who almost certainly fought for the very existence of their own fatherland, πατρίδος πέρι Θέβας.[42] If so, the new epigram permits us a unique, albeit indirect, glimpse into a critical moment of the Graeco-Persian Wars from the perspective of medizing Greeks. But of course some other context, such as the battle of Thermopylae, in which Thebans also fought in very peculiar circumstances,[43] cannot be excluded. Conversely, given that the spelling variant πολέμυ (text A, line 2) could drag the date even lower, I would not categorically exclude a later occasion, such as the battle of Tanagra (458 or 457), which famously left a rich epigraphic legacy.[44]

On the assumption that the monument is private, the re-inscribing could similarly have been a private affair, a case of a descendant visiting his ancestral tombs more than a century or so after their construction and embellishing the old monument. In doing so, the unknown descendant might have imitated the

40 Vottéro 1996; cf. Iversen 2010, pp. 262–263, who does not accept Vottéro's theory that a Theban decree sanctioned the alphabetic reform; Aravantinos and Papazarkadas 2012, pp. 243–244, 248–249, whose text shows that as late as 377–6 BC, the epichoric script was in use in public documents in Thebes.

41 Aravantinos 2001–2004 [2011], p. 142, has briefly suggested a military encounter between Thebans and Athenians in the period between the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War.

42 The Thebans lost 300 men at Plataea, as we know from Hdt. 9.67, with the useful note of Flower and Marincola 2002, p. 224, who rightly observe that this passage suggests there was also a non-medizing party in Thebes (see note 16 above on Pindar's equally dramatic description of Theban losses in the same battle). The victorious Greek troops went on to lay a long siege to Thebes: the Theban resistance is narrated by Herodotus (9.86–88), on which Demand 1982, p. 25, bluntly observes: "The Thebans … were in effect fighting on their own territory and for their own survival".

43 See R.J. Buck 1979, pp. 130–133; Demand 1982, pp. 21–22.

44 See Papazarkadas and Sourlas 2012, esp. pp. 586–587 and 603–604.

alphabetic reform already introduced by the state.[45] Or perhaps the battle that had cost the lives of the two unknown men had become once more topical. A re-inscription would then have aimed at repackaging the old patriotic message for a new audience.

Assuming however that it was part of a public memorial, we are entitled to see a state initiative behind the re-inscribing. Again topicality could provide the appropriate interpretative framework. In a recent article Nino Luraghi has strongly, and probably rightly, argued that local variants of scripts were deliberate efforts on behalf of political entities to create and/or reinforce ethnic and political identities.[46] In fact, this hypothesis makes it more likely that the decision to re-inscribe the epigram was a state initiative. This in turn would reinforce an interpretation of the stele as a public monument. The poor state of preservation does not permit us to be more affirmative. Morphologically, the four-line epigram on a free-standing stele is reminiscent of a recently published epigram commemorating the Athenian casualties at Marathon.[47] On this interpretation, it would appear that public funerals and monuments of war casualties were not an Athenian peculiarity but that similar developments were taking place in Thebes at around the same time.

II. Inscribed Dedication

Fragment of a tapering, unfluted column drum made of micaceous poros, found in March 2005 at a rescue excavation at the building plot of E. Bovalis, on 17 Amphionos Street, in the southeastern part of modern Thebes.[48] It is now stored in the epigraphic collection of the Museum of Thebes (Bakas courtyard), inv. no. 40993. Dimensions: height: 0.41 m.; diameter 0.31 m.; letter height: 0.018–0.02 m. (side A), and 0.025 m. (side B), but O=0.02 m. (**Fig. 3, 4, and 5**)

45 See note 40, and Papazarkadas *forthcoming*.

46 N. Luraghi 2010.

47 *Editio princeps* by Steinhauer 2004–2009 (*SEG* LIV 430). Keesling 2012, p. 145, has claimed that the Marathon epigram, "inscribed in smaller letters and squeezed between the tribal heading and the list, appears to be an afterthought, though possibly inscribed by the same hand as the list". I am not so sure about this, though the Marathon stele and the Boeotian stele under consideration are different in that the latter includes no list of names.

48 Aravantinos 2001–2004 [2011], pp. 137–138, notes that the dig was begun by the 9th Ephorate and concluded by the 1st Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities. The column drum was found built into the Byzantine wall, no. 13.

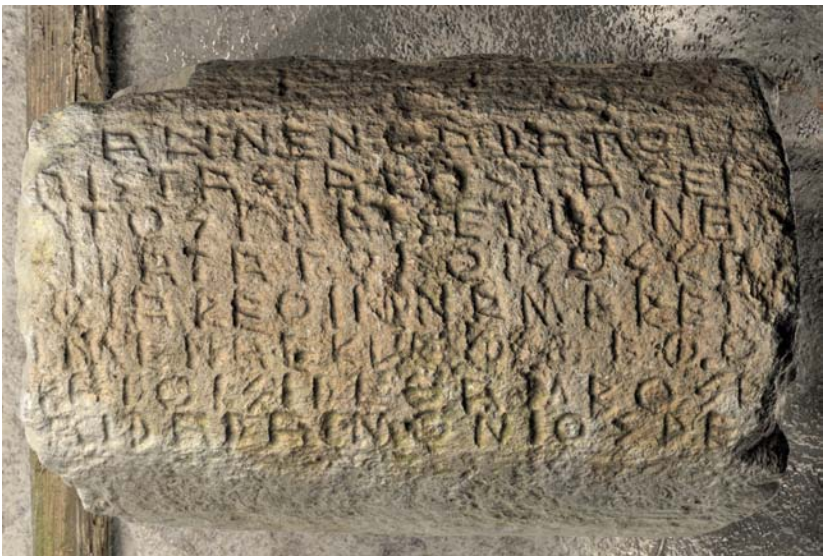

FIGURE 3 *Inscribed column inv. no. 40993, side A; photo O. Kourakis*

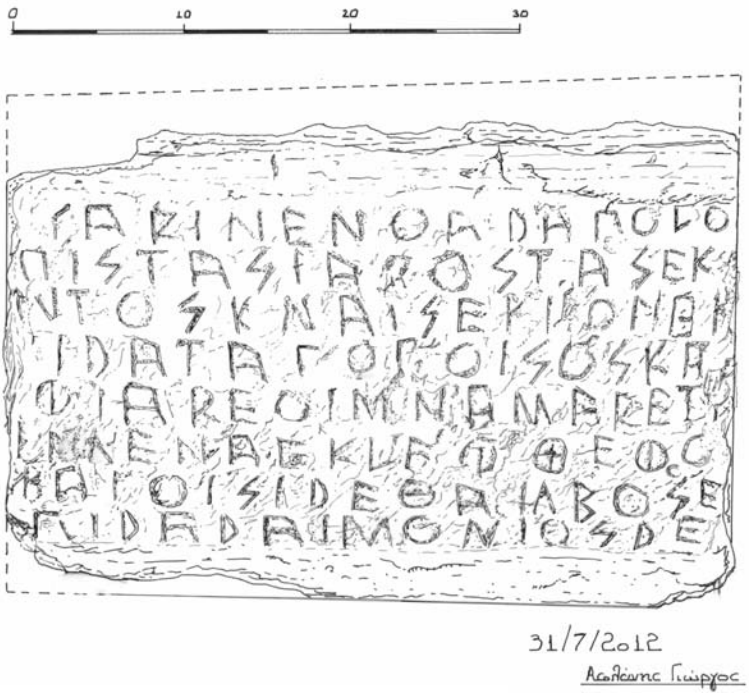

FIGURE 4 *Inscribed column inv. no. 40993, side A; drawing by G. Aslanis based on E. Sioumpara's drawing of fig. 7*

FIGURE 5 *Inscribed column inv. no. 40993, side B; photo O. Kourakis*

The column drum is broken on its upper part, but for textual reasons (see below) there cannot be more than a centimeter or two missing. It is there, on the broken upper part, that we encounter the first enigmatic feature of the monument, for on that section of the column there is a virtually unparalleled cruciform orifice (**Fig. 6 and 7**).[49]

Each one of its antennae is of equal depth and almost equal length, 0.01 and 0.02 m. respectively. Nevertheless, the center of the cross, where the antennae intersect, is not as deep as the antennae themselves. To the best of my knowledge, there is no known clamp orifice of this form. A couple of experienced archaeologists tentatively suggested that this might be a lewis-hole for lifting the stone; if so, there is no real parallel. Another hypothesis, the most likely in my view, is that the orifice was used for the insertion of some object—probably, the capital. The other end of the column drum is hewn. It is hard to tell whether this work is original or secondary. As already mentioned, the column drum was found built into a Byzantine wall.

However, it is the inscription, or rather the inscriptions, that immediately catch one's eye. On the one side—for the sake of convenience, I will call it side A—one can see eight lines of text, written in Boeotian script, running along the long axis of the column. The state of preservation of the text on the other side—side B—shows greater deterioration than that on side A. What is more, it has been inscribed perpendicular to the vertical axis of the stone. Strikingly, on this side the script is Ionic.[50]

I begin with a description of the lettering of side A. Certain letters have a distinctive squarish appearance. This is especially true of alpha but also of delta. Sigma is of the three-bar type. Phi consists of an encircled vertical. Theta is in the form of an encircled cross. At the end of line 3 there is the symbol for the aspirate, basically a rectangle with a horizontal crossbar. Although there are rather few comparanda, the lettering of the new *kioniskos* appears to be quite similar to that of an inscribed dedicatory column from the Boeotian shrine of Apollo at Ptoion, which is traditionally dated to the late 6th century BC.[51] In fact, the two monuments have much in common—the same form,[52] same

49 I am grateful to Dr. Sioumpara for the drawing.

50 According to Aravantinos 2001–2004 [2011], p. 138, the lettering on this side suggests a date in the 4th or the 3rd century BC. The former date has to be preferred, as I will argue below.

51 *CEG* 336: Δάσον καὶ Φα[νί]ας Σίκιός τ' Ε|ὐγειτίχο hυ[ιοί], Πτόι' Ἄπολο|ν ἄν[α]χς, σο[ὶ μ'] ἀνέθεκε χ[[α]]άριν. See Ducat 1971, pp. 392–393, no. 242, with pl. 133–134; cf. Vottéro 2002, p. 80, no. 15.

52 According to Ducat *op. cit.* ibid., the column from Ptoion ("colonne lisse") has an identical diameter of 0.31 m. at the top, and is made of "pôros jaune grisâtre, à grain fin".

FIGURE 6 *The orifice of the column*

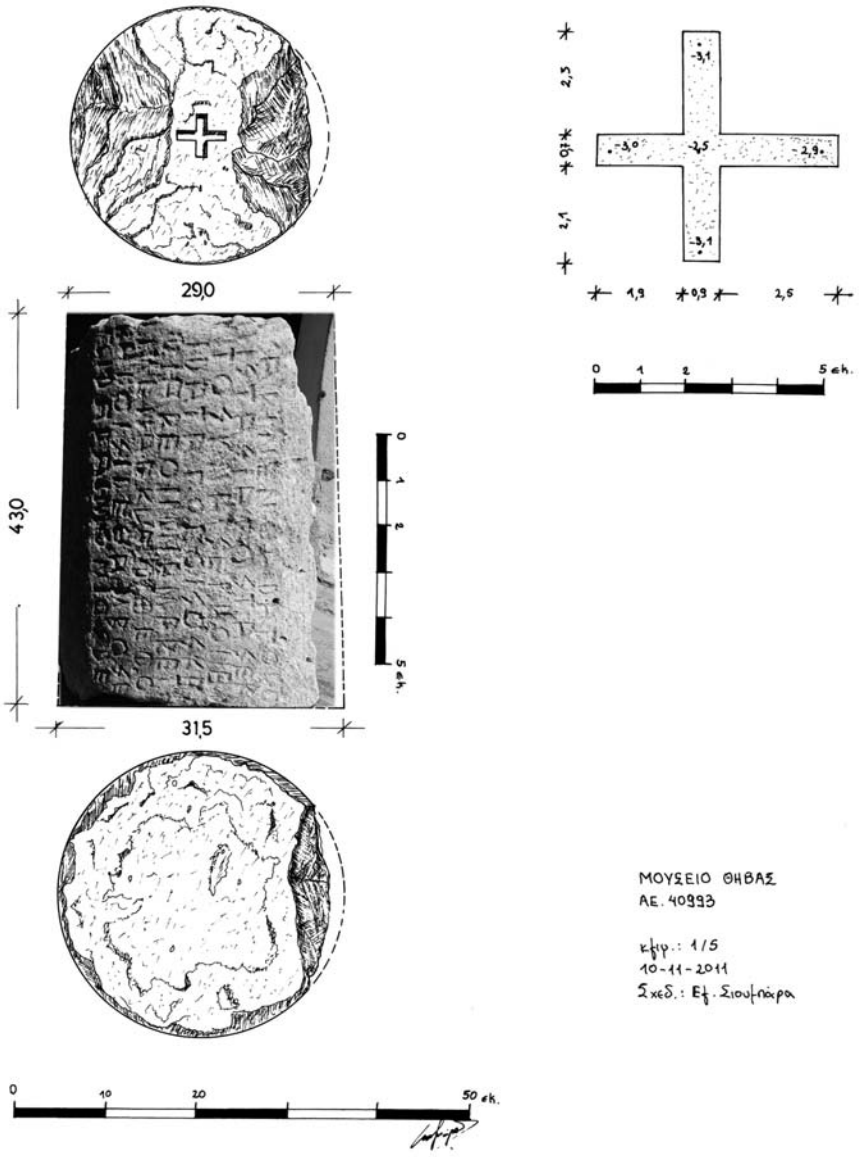

FIGURE 7 *The orifice; drawing by Dr. E. Sioumpara*

phraseology, and even similar spelling conventions. If so, our *kioniskos* could equally well date to the late 6th–early 5th century BC.

Once we turn the column around, however, the new text in the Ionic script is revealed. The surface of the stone is badly eroded and the text hardly legible. I invested dozens of hours of autopsy at the archaeological Museum of

Thebes, in the good company of Y. Kalliontzis, yet for a long period of time the defective text defied interpretation and at times the situation seemed hopeless. Comparative study of the two texts turned out to be more fruitful. In order to demonstrate the difficulties I experienced while examining and trying to understand this double text, I provide majuscule transcripts of the two texts next to one other.

	Text A (Boeotian)		**Text B (Ionic)**
	'ARINEN⊕ADAΓOLO		MA
	ΓISTASIAROSTASEK		ΣΤΑΣΕΚΑΤ
	NTOSYNAISEYRONΘ		ΜΕΝΟΣΜΑΝΤΟΣ
4	IDATAΓO̤.OISOSKA	4	ΣΕΥΡΩΝΥΠΟΤΑ
	ΦIAREOIMNAMARET		ΟΙΟΦΑΕΝΝΑΝ
	MENAKLEΦ⊕EΦO		ΔΑΤΑΝΓΡΟΙ
	BAIOISIDE⊕AMBOSE		Ο̣ΝΑΓΑΛΜ
8	ΓIDADAIMONIOSDE	8	Α̣Ρ̣Ε̣Ω̣Ι

Comparison of the two reveals considerable overlap in places. Thus we read STASEK in text A, l. 2, and ΣΤΑΣΕΚ in text B, l. 2; NTOS in text A, l. 3 and ΝΤΟΣ in text B, l. 3; SEYRONΘ in text A, l. 3, and ΣΕΥΡΩΝ in text B, l. 4;[53] possibly REOI in text A l. 5, and Ρ̣Ε̣Ω̣Ι in text B, l. 8; and finally the purportedly enigmatic DATAΓO̤.OI in the Boeotian text, l. 4 and ΔΑΤΑΝΓΡΟΙ in the Ionic text, l. 6. In this case the texts are not identical but suspiciously similar. Overall, the similarities between the two texts are so extensive that, quite simply, they cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence. Just as in the case of the funerary epigram discussed earlier in this chapter, it seems that an early text in the epichoric alphabet was re-inscribed at some point in a different script (and in a different orientation). And in this case as well there can be no doubt that the new script is Ionic, probably of the early or mid fourth century BC.

But back to the text proper. The diction is that of a dedication.[54] The form of the monument similarly suggests a dedication. One is readily reminded of the inscribed poros columns from the shrine of Apollo at Ptoion, mentioned above. The poem is elegiac, consisting of four couplets of dactylic hexameters

53 Here omikron is replaced by omega, whereas the aspirate of the Boeotian text nicely corresponds to the underlying aspirate of the upsilon of the Ionic text.

54 Aravantinos 2001–2004 [2011], pp. 137–138 thought of a funerary epigram by virtue of the few words read at the time, especially μνᾶμα in line 5.

and pentameters. Each line of the Boeotian text corresponds to a verse line. Clearly the lost part of the poem continued on a second column drum. The original monument would have been much larger, at least a meter high, if not higher.

I offer the following provisional minuscule transcription, basically a composite primarily based on the better preserved Boeotian script version. I have underlined the overlapping sections.

[σοὶ] χάριν ἐνθάδ', Ἄπολο[ν, ⏑ | – ⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑ | – ⏑]
[κὲ]πιστὰς ἰαρῶ στᾶσε κατ[ευχσά]μενος
[μα]ντοσύναις εὐρὸν hυπὸ TA[....]OIO φαενὰν
[ἀσπ]ίδα τὰγ Ϙροῖσος κα[λϝ]ὸν ἄγαλ[μα θέτο?]
[Ἀμ]φιαρέοι μνᾶμ' ἀρετ[ᾶς τε πάθας τε ⏑| – ⏑]
[. .]μεν ἃ ἐκλέφθε ΦΟ[⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑ | ⏑]
[Θε]βαίοισι δὲ θάμβος Ε[– ⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑ | – ⏑]
[. .]πιδα δαιμονίος || ΔΕ[⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑ | ⏑]

Lines 1–2: For this invocation of Apollo, cf. *CEG* 336 (note 51 above). Given the context, this must be Apollo Ismenios, whose shrine, the Ismenion, was excavated by Keramopoullos in the early 20th century and has been under investigation by Bucknell University since 2011.[55] It is no doubt the same shrine that is mentioned in line 2 as having been supervised by someone, presumably the dedicant. His name, possibly along with some other title, would have appeared at the end of the first verse.[56] For the unusual syntax of ἐφίστημι + genitive (instead of dative), cf. Hdt. 7.117: ἐν Ἀκάνθῳ δὲ ἐόντος Ξέρξεω συνήνεικε ὑπὸ νούσου ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἐπεστεῶτα τῆς διώρυχος Ἀρταχαίην,[57] and Eur. *Andr*. 1098, ὅσοι θεοῦ χρημάτων ἐφέστασαν. The syntax is probably influenced by that of the cognate ἐπιστατέω, which normally takes the genitive; cf. Hdt. 7.22, Βουβάρης δὲ ὁ Μεγαβάζου καὶ Ἀρταχαίης ὁ Ἀρταίου ἄνδρες Πέρσαι ἐπεστάτεον τοῦ ἔργου. For the crasis in [κὲ]πιστὰς cf. *SEG* LVI 521, l. 2, ηελόντες κὲλευσῖνα.

Combining the two versions, I provisionally put forward the restoration κατ[ευχσά]μενος (having vowed) for the end of the first pentameter.[58] The par-

55 On the site see Keramopoullos 1917, pp. 33–98; Symeonoglou 1985, pp. 132–133, 236–239; Faraklas 1996, pp. 52–57.

56 Surely the place where the two letters MA of the Ionic version belong, though it is impossible to be more precise.

57 See Powell 1938, s.v. ἐπίστημι 2 (intrans.): "be in charge".

58 See examples cited by Powell 1938, s.v. κατεύχομαι.

ticiple brings us back to the χάρις (favor) of line 1, for which a nice comparandum is offered, yet again, by *CEG* 336, Πτόι' Ἄπολο|ν ἄν[α]χς, σο[ὶ μ'] ἀνέθεκε χ[[α]]άριν. The theme of *charis* has recently been superbly analyzed by Joseph Day, who, commenting on the specific case of *CEG* 336, observed that "[w]hen *charis* is given to the god, it is (a token of) gratitude or a counter-favor for the god's earlier help."[59] Indeed, the participle κατ[ευχσά]μενος places the *charis* of line 1 in a reciprocal context, whose parameters are only revealed in the following verse.

Line 3: The term μαντοσύναις firmly places the dedication within the context of the Ismenion: we should not forget that Apollo's Theban shrine was oracular.[60] Interestingly, in its only attestation in the Pindaric corpus, the term μαντοσύνα refers to Apollo.[61] Both the Boeotian and the Ionic texts contain the aorist participle εὑρών: someone, presumably the dedicant, had been able to find something that was φαενάν, shining, radiant.[62] This poetic form of φαεινός is a favorite of Pindar: with 11 attestations,[63] the Pindaric corpus provides by far the greatest density of the term's use in Greek literature, yet another good reminder that the lapidary poetry I deal with in this chapter was never far away from the high poetry composed by the local masters of the time. For the disappearance and rediscovery of Croesus' dedication, see my notes below on line 6. I do not know how exactly to interpret the letters before φαενάν, but they may well belong to an epic genitive, as in *CEG* 110 from Boeotian Haliartos: Καλλία | Αἰγίθοιο | τὺ δ' εὖ πρᾶσ', [ὄ] | παροδῶτα. If so, the genitive may be that of place name, standing as the object of the preposition ὑπό.[64]

Lines 4–5. Initially a crux, these are the most exciting lines of the epigram, and they should be analyzed in conjunction with information transmitted to us by Herodotus.

I start with the *nomen sacrum* Ἀμφιαρέοι in line 5. Note that from a metrical point of view Ἀμφιαρέοι should stand here for Ἀμφιαρήῳ, a spelling variant

59 Day 2010, p. 239.

60 Evidence and treatment in Schachter 1981, pp. 77–85, esp. 81–82.

61 Pind. *Ol.* 6.63–66: ἵκοντο δ' ὑψηλοῖο πέ|τραν ἀλίβατον Κρονίου ἔνθα οἱ ὥπασε θησαυρὸν δίδυμον μαντοσύνας.

62 I assume simplification of the geminate consonant, as in Ἄπολο[ν] of line 1.

63 See Slater 1969, s.v. φαεννός.

64 This, admittedly, would be a rather rare, albeit not unprecedented, use of ὑπό with genitive (instead of dative) to express static position *under*: see S. Luraghi 2003, pp. 225, 230–231. In fact, the examples collected by Cooper 2002, p. 2830 show that Pindar—yet again—had a penchant for this construction.

known from Herodotus 1.46, and, most importantly, from Pindar.[65] Coming after the invocation of Apollo in line 1, this is an extraordinary reference to another god, Amphiaraos, yet it should come as no surprise to the student of Herodotus, for it is from Herodotus that classical philologists and historians have long known of the connection between Amphiaraos and Apollo Ismenios in Thebes. The context is the famous testing of the credibility of the major Greek oracles by the Lydian King Croesus, who was satisfied not only with the answer he had received from the Delphian Apollo but also with that from Amphiaraos.[66] "And to Amphiaraus", Herodotus relates, "of whose courage and fate Croesus had heard, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these were until my time at Thebes, in the Theban temple of Ismenian Apollo." (τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσεον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.)[67]

Leaving aside the question of where Amphiaraos' oracular shrine was located (Oropos or some place near Thebes),[68] the credibility of Herodotus has often been questioned.[69] The new epigram appears to vindicate the Halicarnassian historian, proving that there was indeed a connection between Apollo Ismenios and Amphiaraos at Thebes.

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65 See Slater 1969, s.v. Ἀμφιάρηος. In the last line of the Ionic text, the stone-cutter appears to have inscribed ΑΡΕΩΙ, which most likely means that he was thinking of [Ἀμφι]άρεωι. This is presumably due to the fact that the Attic-declension form Ἀμφιάρεως had already prevailed by the time of the re-inscribing of the text. A cursory search on the TLG will immediately confirm the popularity of the Attic form even in non-Attic writers.

66 See also Hdt. 1.46: μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν Ἕλλησι … οἱ δέ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρηον καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον …; idem 1.49: τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ἀπόκρισιν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὧν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται) ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς κεκτῆσθαι.

67 Hdt. 1.52 (tr. A.D. Godley). The most detailed analysis of the passage known to me, at least as concerns the dedications *per se*, is that by Buxton 2002, pp. 121–128.

68 See Schachter 1981, pp. 21–23, for a convenient collection of theories down to 1981. Schachter himself is currently the leading exponent of the idea of a single Amphiareion located at Oropos: see also Schachter 1989, pp. 76–77. Asheri, in Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, p. 110, thought that there were two separate shrines.

69 One of the finest connoisseurs of Boeotian religion, Schachter 1981, p. 21, note 4, wondered whether "… the story of Kroisos' dedication to Amphiaraos was invented by Herodotos' Theban hosts", which is of course not the same as doubting the historian's integrity.

I return to line 4, where I have already observed that the overlap between the Boeotian and the Ionic text is striking. Yet at this point the Boeotian text, better preserved though it is, did not seem to make sense, or, rather, it defied decipherment for a long time. It all came together, however, after a close reading of Herodotus 1.52, where the historian unequivocally states that the dedication by Croesus to Amphiaraos—a golden spear and a golden shield (σάκος)—were made in recognition of Amphiaraos' (military) valor and suffering, ἀρετή and πάθη.[70] In line 5 of the epigram we learn that something was given to Amphiaraos μνâμ' ἀρετâς, a rather infrequent albeit not unique collocation for dedicatory poetry,[71] and what is more, one strongly reminiscent of the Herodotean passage. The temptation was hard to resist, and once it became clear that what at first sight appeared to be an omikron was in fact a koppa, I was able to find the solution that makes sense in terms of meter and content:[72] the σάκος χρύσεον of Herodotus' account must be the φαενὰν [ἀσπ]ίδα of the new epigram.[73] Although an ἀσπίς and a σάκος might have been initially typologically different, poets did not adhere to such technical distinctions,[74] and the composer of the Theban epigram may not have bothered with such subtleties either.

One is further tempted to restore the whole Herodotean collocation τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην; metrical considerations have prompted me to restore the slightly peculiar ἀρετ[âς τε πάθας τε] in line 5.[75] It is noteworthy that the

70 For a brief analysis of this passage, see Asheri, Lloyd, and Corcella 2007, p. 113.

71 For another Boeotian dedicatory inscription containing the term μνâμα, see *CEG* 332 (ca. 450–400 BC): εὐχὰν ἐκκτελέσαντι Διονύσοι Νεομέδες | ἔργον ἀντ' ἀγαθõν μνâμ' ἀνέθεκε τόδε. Day 2010, pp. 183–187, has recently reaffirmed that "[e]pigrams show that display and piety were not in opposition, that *mnema* function was compatible with *agalma* function". Needless to say, the new Theban epigram proves this point beyond any reasonable doubt.

72 The possibility that the inscription under consideration may be related to information transmitted by Herodotus first arose during a long SKYPE discussion I had with my colleague and friend Peter Thonemann. At the time of the Berkeley conference, while I recognized that the name of Croesus ought to be read in this line, I had to resort to some linguistic acrobatics. Reading a koppa was Prof. Knoefpler's ingenious suggestion at the Berkeley symposium. Subsequent autopsy of the stone showed the tiny tail of a koppa, thus confirming the proposed reading.

73 For the collocation cf. Hom. *Il.* 22.96–97: ὡς Ἕκτωρ ἄσβεστον ἔχων μένος οὐχ ὑπεχώρει, | πύργωι ἔπι προὔχοντι φαεινὴν ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας.

74 See Buxton 2002, esp. p. 124 with note 356, on Aeschylus' indistinct use of ἀσπίς and σάκος in *The Seven Against Thebes* to denote a round shield.

75 For the double conjunction, cf. *CEG* 11, l. 1, προξενίας ἀρετῆς τε χάριμ προ⟨γ⟩όνων τε καὶ αὐτõ, and ibid. 394, ll. 3–4, νικάσας Γισόμακός τε πάχος τε.

feminine form πάθη occurs 5 times in the Herodotean oeuvre (including Hdt. 1.52), as opposed to 28 occurrences of the neuter πάθος.[76]

Returning once more to line 4: since some form of the word ἄγαλμα arguably appears in line 6 of the Ionic text and since the sequence KA is visible at the end of line 4 of the Boeotian text, I provisionally provide the reading κα[λϝ]ὸν ἄγαλ[μα], here for metrical reasons with a *digamma*, for which one can compare the dedication *CEG* 334, ll. 1–2 from Ptoion (ca. 550–525 BCE) καλϝὸν ἄγαλμα ϝάνακτι ϝ[εκαβόλοι Ἀ|πόλονι:] | [. .c. 3.]ορίδας ποίϝεσέ μ' Ἐχέστροτ|ος· αὐτὰρ ἔπεμφσαν, etc. Of course, ἄγαλμα is the standard way of referring to the dedicated object in the majority of the Greek epigrams.

At the end of the same line, I restore the unaugmented middle θέτο for metrical reasons, for which cf. *CEG* 808 (ca. 400 BC?): τόνδ' ἰατορίας Ἀσκλαπιῦι Αἰγινάτας | hυιός με hαγίλλο μνâμ' ἔθετο Ἀνδρόκριτος.[77]

Line 6: We have here an almost indubitable reference to a certain thing or things (ἅ could be the feminine singular of the relative pronoun or the neuter plural in Attic syntax) that had been stolen. This unusual passive aorist form of κλέπτω, instead of the canonical second aorist ἐκλάπην, is known from Herodotus 5.84: κλεφθέντων δὲ τῶνδε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων οἱ Ἐπιδαύριοι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι τὰ συνέθεντο οὐκέτι ἐπετέλεον.

If μέν is the particle and ἅ is the neuter form of the pronoun then we have a rather unpleasant hiatus.[78] It would therefore be tempting to restore [αἰχ]μὲν ἃ ἐκλέφθε etc., which would satisfy metrical demands better and bring the new epigram even closer to the Herodotean narrative. The Ionic form [αἰχ]μέν instead of the expected Boeotian [αἰχ]μάν is slightly disconcerting but not incurable: genre requirements often affect the diction of epigrams, and in fact epigrammatic poetry often displays mixed dialectal forms.[79] More difficulties, however, are raised by the grammar of the restoration [αἰχ]μέν, since it would leave us with no connective particle, unless we assume that the grammatical clause started at the end of line 5.

At any rate, it is clear that the unknown "supervisor" of Apollo's shrine had miraculously discovered the stolen shield of Croesus. This should not come as

76 Powell 1938, s.vv. πάθη and πάθος.

77 I owe this reference to Dr. Andrej Petrovic (Durham).

78 But see M.L. West 1966, p. 316, noting on Hes. *Theog*. 532: "the hiatus is not in itself suspicious (cf. *h. Ap*. 391 ταῦτ' ἄρα ὁρμαίνων)" etc.

79 See, for instance, the surprising (?) appearance of Doric forms in the Attic monument *IG* I^3 503/4, lapis C: οὖθαρ δ' ἀπείρο πορτιτρόφο ἄκρον ἔχοντες^v / τοῖσιμ πανθαλὲς ὄλβος ἐπιστρέ|[φεται], with Petrovic 2007, p. 175.

a surprise since we know from the Dodona tablets that stolen property was one of the concerns for which oracular assistance was requested.[80]

Line 7: Within the well-known μέν-δέ scheme of antithesis, if this is what we have (but see my note on LL. 5–6 above), we should probably discern divine action, the oracular revelation of the stolen object having caused fear or something similar to enemies but astonishment to the Thebans. For metrical reasons, the two letters ΦΟ must belong to a long syllable; accordingly, φόβος should be ruled out, but given the Apolline context some form of Φοῖβος is not impossible. The only alternative, the regional ethnic Φωκεύς, though intriguing, would raise historical implications that cannot possibly be controlled on such frail evidence.

Line 8: ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ in the last line can be deciphered in various ways, e.g. it could be nominative singular, accusative plural,[81] or, what I consider to be more likely, an adverb, i.e. δαιμονίος.[82] Before that, [ἀσ]πίδα or [ἐλ]πίδα are the obvious restorations. The two last surviving letters mark the beginning of the second hemiepes of the pentameter and therefore ought to belong to a long syllable, e.g. δε[χσαμένοις]. Perhaps "[the Thebans] having received the shield by divine intervention"? It is possible that others may come up with better ideas.

Croesus' Dedication: Further Analysis

Scholars have long been perplexed by the presence of Croesus's dedication to Amphiaraos in the shrine of Apollo at Thebes.[83] We can now catch a glimpse of what had happened. At some unspecified point the shield was stolen. It was subsequently recovered, with the oracular help of Apollo Ismenios, by

80 See Lhôte 2006, pp. 247–252; Eidinow 2007, pp. 116–118, who also reports information transmitted to her by the late Professor Christidis that unpublished material mentions stolen sacred property. It goes without saying that Croesus' dedication would have fallen within this last category.

81 I do not believe that we have two separate words here, e.g. δαίμονι ὅς vel sim.

82 *CEG* 5: τλέμονες, hοῖον ἀγῶνα μάχες τελέσαντες ἀέλπ[το] | φσυχὰς δαιμονίος ὀλέσατ' ἐμ πολέμοι, etc., where δαιμονίος is taken to be an adverb, translated as "marvelously" by E. Bowie 2010, pp. 369–370.

83 For instance, Vannicelli 2003, p. 341, takes for granted that Hdt. 1.52 refers to a Theban shrine of Amphiaraos. Much earlier, Keramopoullos 1917, p. 266, had been more prudent, suggesting that Croesus' dedications were kept in the Ismenion for security reasons after the demise of the Theban Amphiareion.

the supervisor (i.e., priest?) of Apollo's shrine. Now, we should remember that peculiar story related by Herodotus: the Thebans, we are told, had been asked to choose between having Amphiaraos as an ally and using him as a diviner. They opted for the former, and as a result no Theban was allowed to consult the oracle of Amphiaraos by performing incubation.[84] This would nicely explain why the Thebans made use of Apollo's rather than Amphiaraos' divinatory powers in order to recover a dedication to Amphiaraos himself, which would otherwise appear to have been impossible.

As for the context, some of the foremost experts on Boeotian religion, and most notably Albert Schachter, have long argued that there was only one sanctuary of Amphiaraos, the famous one of Oropos, and that the Thebans simply lost control of it.[85] Once more a theft can easily be construed within the context of the Archaic rivalry between the Thebans and the Athenians for the administration of the Oropian shrine of Amphiaraos. The late 6th/early 5th century lettering of the early text is appropriate to this period. But the rivalry went on well into the 4th century,[86] and this may well explain the re-inscribing of the Boeotian text.[87] An emphatic translation and fresh reading of the late Archaic dedication in the political circumstances of the fourth century could have well served Theban claims on Oropos, the land primarily associated with Amphiaraos. Of course, this interpretation could well stand even if we were to accept that the Theban Amphiareion was different from the famous Oropian shrine.

But the crucial question remains: is the new epigram the one allegedly seen by Herodotus and reported in section 52 of his first book?[88] This was my initial reaction; several factors, however, mitigated that first impression. At some point I even felt inclined to accept that it may be a different text,

84 Hdt. 8.134, with A.M. Bowie 2007, p. 222.

85 See note 68 above.

86 Knoepfler 1986, pp. 90–93; Hansen 2004, p. 449.

87 After I had finished writing this chapter, Prof. Schachter communicated to me the following thoughts (*per epistulam*): "[As for] why and when the Attic-Ionic transcription was made, I can see two possible occasions (there are probably more): either during the hegemony, when the Thebans seem to have rebuilt at least parts of the sanctuary, or (and I think I like this a little better) after the reconstruction of Thebes, when there was a certain amount of re-erecting of monuments (eg. *CEG* 2.630 and 786)". I am grateful to him for his second suggestion, which I had not pondered and which, I gladly admit, may well be right.

88 In a classic article, S. West 1985 does not include Hdt. 1.52 in her list of Herodotean inscriptions (at pp. 279–280), no doubt because she did not consider the possibility that an epigraphic document had informed Herodotus' account.

albeit one closely related and actually generated by the dedication mentioned in Herodotus' narrative. In this scenario, the new monument would have stood very close to Croesus' actual dedication, which had been transferred into the shrine of Apollo at Thebes after it had been recovered following its disappearance. One element that dissuaded me from accepting the alternative (and more exciting) interpretation, namely that the new column preserves the very text seen by Herodotus and paraphrased by him, is the use of the term ἀσπίς instead of σάκος: I found this deviation slightly disconcerting though it may not be too damaging. Much depends on whether we can restore αἰχμέν in the beginning of line 6. In any case, with its long and variegated narrative, the new epigram stands out from the throng of formulaic epigrams that have come to us from the Archaic period.

In her 1985 investigation of the inscribed tripods Herodotus claimed to have seen with his own eyes in the Ismeneion, Stephanie West made the following bold claim: "Autopsy is so much a matter of faith in Herodotean scholarship that it may be thought frivolous or irresponsible to advance the hypothesis that Herodotus has here been misled by hearsay evidence and that we should not believe that he had himself inspected these inscriptions. But there are other passages in his work where it is very hard to accept that he could have seen what he says he saw".[89] The new inscription proves, I think, that Herodotus had indeed visited the Theban Ismeneion. He had possibly seen dedicatory inscriptions in hexameters; he had certainly inspected another inscription, which was in elegiac couplets, and this gave him every right to affirm that Croesus' dedication to Amphiaraos was to be seen in Thebes.

Epilogue

The two epigrams published here raise an array of intriguing questions, most of which I have attempted to address in my analysis. Both epigrams were initially carved in the epichoric script of Boeotia. Much later they were re-inscribed in the Ionic script, which by the 4th century had become the standard alphabetic system throughout the Greek world. I have already put forward some possible interpretations behind the re-inscribing of each text. My suggestions were text-specific—the two epigrams represent after all different genres—, but one can hardly overlook the epigrams' common provenance from Thebes. Are we then entitled to see a certain cultural mind-set at work in Thebes that would

89 S. West 1985, p. 293.

account for this peculiar epigraphic habit? There are some indications, including unpublished epigraphic material from Thebes, pointing in this direction.

Inevitably, however, readers will warmly embrace the fact that both texts can be classified as "historical inscriptions". Greek historians are familiar with this term from the standard *Greek Historical Inscriptions* collections that were inaugurated by Hicks in the 19th century,[90] continued by Tod,[91] elevated to archetypal status by Meiggs and Lewis,[92] and are still upheld under the erudite supervision of Rhodes and Osborne.[93] The latter have rightfully pointed out that "[t]here is, of course, a sense in which all inscriptions are historical documents" but justified their choice to continue the venerated epigraphic tradition on the understanding that some texts are intrinsically more important than others. This, I contend, holds true for both inscriptions presented in this article. Epigram no. I should be associated with a battle either of the Persian Wars or of the early *pentekontaetia*. Epigram no. II invites us to read Herodotus yet again, appreciate what he wrote, ponder what he did not, and simply marvel at his account. In other words it casts illuminating sidelight on Greek history.[94]

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90 See Hicks and Hill 1901, an updated edition of the first edition produced by Hicks alone in 1882.

91 Tod 1946–1948.

92 Meiggs and Lewis 1988 (first edition in 1969).

93 Rhodes and Osborne 2003: the two authors are now preparing a new edition of Meiggs and Lewis 1988.

94 A deliberate allusion to M.N. Tod's famous lectures *Sidelights on Greek History* … (Tod 1932).

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New Inscribed Funerary Monuments from Thebes[1]

Margherita Bonanno Aravantinos

The ancient cemeteries of Thebes extend outside the city's fortification walls into the plain known in antiquity as the *Aonion pedion*. A large number of funerary monuments has been brought to light in recent years, thanks to rescue excavations carried out by the Ninth Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Boeotia (9th E.P.C.A.) in three cemetery areas, situated to the northeast, northwest and south of the Kadmeia (Fig. 1a).[2]

Most of the funerary monuments were uncovered during excavations conducted from 1999 to 2001 for the construction of a bridge for the new Piraeus-Thessaloniki railway line, in the so-called OSE necropolis, at a distance of ca. 2 km northeast from the town's center (Fig. 1b).

The archaeological investigation focused on two different sectors, to the north and south of the railway bridge on the Thebes-Mouriki way.[3] The number of tombs reaches the staggering total of 843, including types such as *enchytrismoi*, pyres, *larnakes*, cist-graves, tile-covered and pit- or shaft-graves, and date from the Final Neolithic-Early Bronze Age to the Hellenistic era. Several tombs

1 I am grateful to the organizers of the Symposium and to participants for creating a stimulating atmosphere. I am also grateful to Vassilis Aravantinos, former Director of the 9th E.P.C.A. of Boeotia, for permission to publish the recent finds from Thebes; and to Prof. Papazarkadas for his comments and advice concerning the text and for reading its final draft. This essay is part of a study devoted to the publication of all the stelai found in the area of the OSE necropolis. For facilitating that study, I thank E. Tsota and I. Fappas. My thanks also go to the conservator I. Moraitou, the draughtsmen K. Bairaktaris and S. Kazakidis, and the museum custodians whose assistance greatly facilitated my work in the storerooms of the Thebes Museum. The photographs are by the author, with the exception of those of the figures 3–9, 29, 48, 49, and 51, which were taken by K. Xenikakis. The photos of figures 34–36 are from the archive of the 9th E.P.C.A.

2 On the necropolis of Thebes in the historical period and the recent archaeological investigations, see Aravantinos 2006, pp. 729–749; Kountouri 2008.

3 The excavation was directed by V. Aravantinos. For preliminary reports on the archaeological investigation in the OSE necropolis see: Aravantinos in *AD* 54 (1999), Chron., p. 316; idem 2006, pp. 729–749; idem 2009 b, pp. 377–388. For sundry finds from the necropolis see: Bonanno Aravantinos 2003a; eadem 2003b; eadem, in Andrikou & Lanara 2004, p. 102 ff., no. 29; p. 186 ff., no. 68; p. 190 ff., no. 70; p. 260 ff., no. 100; p. 270 ff., no. 105; Bonanno Aravantinos & Pisani 2009; Pisani 2009a; Pisani 2009b; Bonanno Aravantinos (forthcoming).

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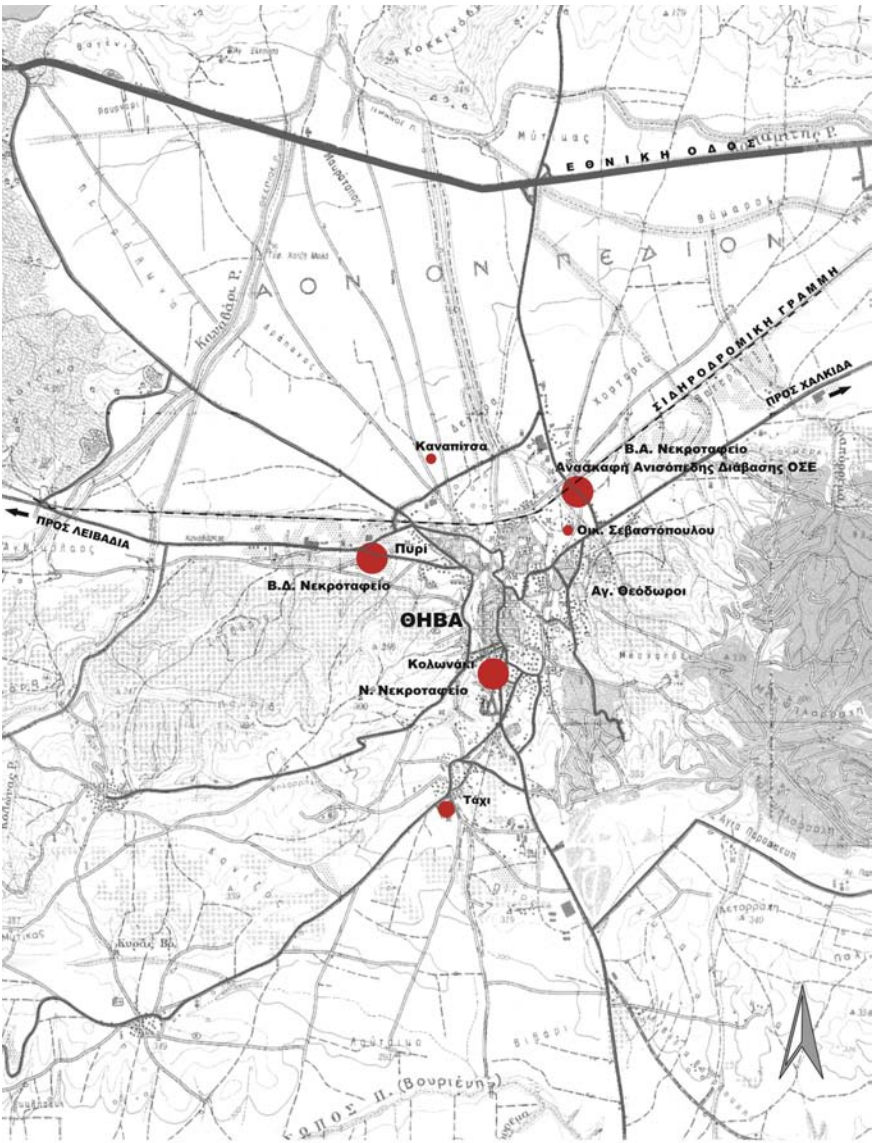

FIGURE 1A *Map of Thebes with the main cemeteries*

were undisturbed and contained rich funeral offerings. Tombstones were discovered in the OSE cemetery as well as in other areas to which the northeast cemetery extended, including the Sevastopoulos plot, which was investigated in 2005, and in the course of a rescue excavation in the Liakopoulos plot, which is located to the northwest of the ancient city.

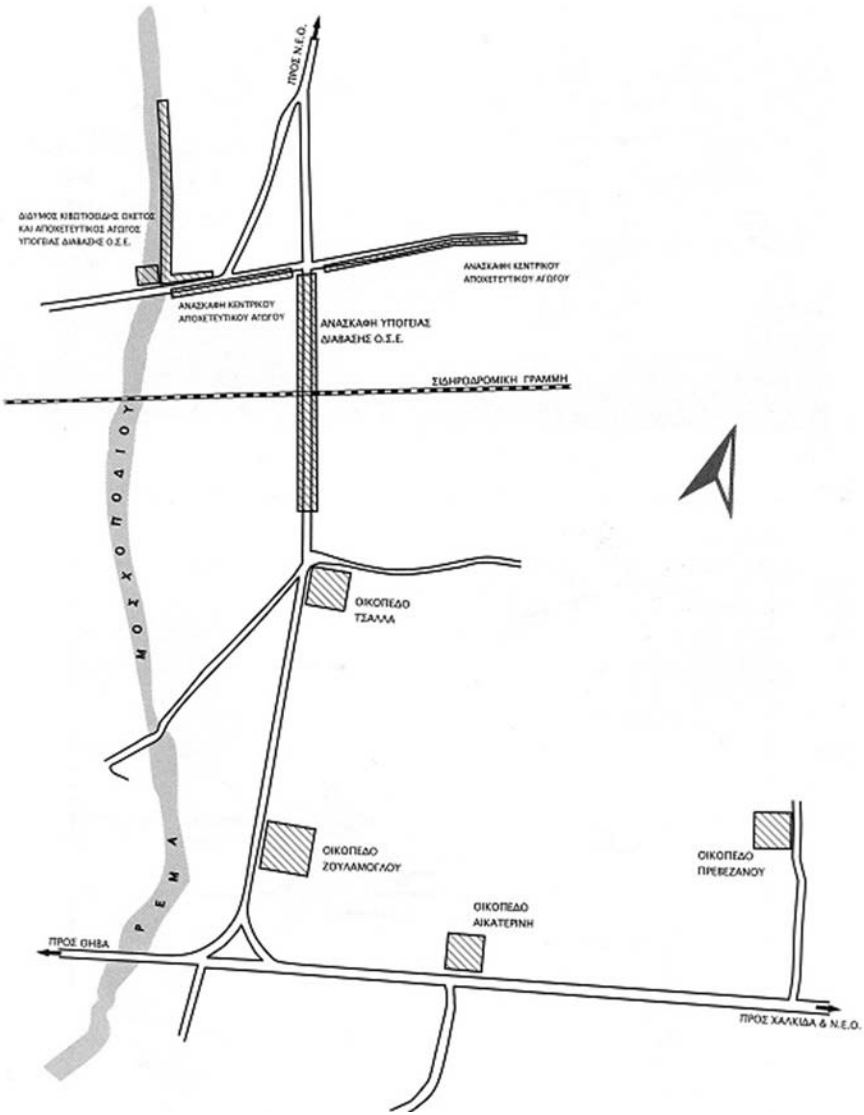

FIGURE 1B *Topographical plan of the OSE cemetery*

In this essay I shall present some new inscribed funerary monuments, more than seventy in number, made of local *poros* (tufa) or limestone. All of them were discovered in the excavations mentioned above. The gravestones are now stored in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes. A selection of them will be put on display in the new exhibition of the Museum, which is currently under preparation. One of my aims is to demonstrate and also stress the richness and

peculiarities of the Theban necropoleis, which, in the past, were represented by only a few scattered objects, with the exception of the rich material from Ritsona.[4]

Most of the inscribed tombstones belong to a type of funerary monument that is characteristic of Thebes, especially in the period from the end of the 4th to the 2nd centuries BC. The tombstones share the following features: (1) the surfaces, except for the rear sides, are covered with a thin layer of white plaster; (2) the decorative elements are either rendered in relief and subsequently painted or merely painted; (3) most of the stones have small rectangular holes, usually three or four, pierced symmetrically into the upper surface—they occur both on beam-shaped pieces and on rectangular and pedimental plaques and were probably used for attaching spits or the like to scare away birds, or possibly for suspending wreaths or garlands; (4) all extant pieces have in the center of their underside a rectangular dowel hole, whose dimensions (length and depth) vary considerably. The dowel holes were used to receive the supporting-piece, and I shall refer to them as the 'central support-holes'.

As far as shape is concerned, the new funerary monuments from Thebes fall into groups well defined by Fraser and Rönne, who published all the Boeotian tombstones known to them in a classic volume that appeared in 1957,[5] and subsequently in a supplementary study in 1971.[6] I note that many of the inscribed pieces had already been published in the *Inscriptiones Graecae* series (*IG* VII) at the end of the 19th century. The 108 gravestones included in Fraser and Rönne's catalogue are divided into three groups: (A) narrow beam-shaped stones; (B) stones with pediment, narrow type; (C) larger, elaborated type plaques of rectangular shape, with a surface articulated in three or more panels.

In recent years, some pieces that had not been included in the aforementioned *corpus* have been published. These include three tombstones kept in the Louvre, one in the Benaki Museum, and some others that were more recently discovered and published in the Chronicles (Χρονικά) of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*.[7] Finally, in 2006 I had the opportunity to publish some inscribed poros

4 Aravantinos 2006, pp. 729–731.

5 Fraser & Rönne 1957.

6 Fraser & Rönne Linders 1971.

7 For these recent discoveries, see Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, pp. 155–156 with the earlier bibliography. For the monument in the Benaki Museum see C.B. Kritzas, in Vlizos 2004, pp. 246–247, no. 69 (circa 125–100 BC).

stelai that had been found in the OSE necropolis, in the volume *Aeimnestos* dedicated to the late Mauro Cristofani.[8]

Below I will briefly present the most important pieces published in *Aeimnestos*. Still, I would like to emphasize in advance the importance of the discovery of new funerary monuments in recent Theban excavations, especially since only a few of the pieces studied by Fraser and Rönne in their monumental monograph and in the subsequent supplementary article have a known provenance from necropoleis that were in use from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period (area of Pyri, northeast necropolis, railway station, Kanapitsa, 2 km north of the station, Haghioi Theodoroi, area east of Kadmeia).[9] What is more, none of these pieces were found in context—this was the unfortunate consequence of the systematic plundering of Classical tombs during the second half of the 19th century. The lack of specific information in the inventories of the Museum prevents the reconstruction of even an approximate context. This situation has resulted in the loss of useful information relevant to burial customs as well as to the provenance of the stelai.

In my contribution to *Aeimnestos*,[10] I examined three gravestones of Fraser and Rönne's Class A, which comprises the plain narrow oblong beam-shaped pieces. Within this class I think we can distinguish three subgroups: (a) beam-shaped stones with simple moulding at the top; (b) beam-shaped stones with two painted flowers; (c) beam-shaped stones with two flowers in relief and subsequently painted. Almost all have the Ionic cyma on ridge, and, most importantly for our discussion, bear an inscription with the name of the deceased.

The pieces I presented in 2006 were found in Tomb 151, in the north sector of the cemetery, and can be divided among the three subgroups given above. The first item (**A.a.1**) preserves the Ionic cyma on ridge painted with white and red colors (Fig. 3). In the center of the bottom, a rectangular dowel hole received the supporting piece; four small holes were opened on the upper surface. On the second stone (**A.c.1**), we find a representation of two double eight-petalled flowers in relief and between them the inscription (Fig. 17). Interestingly, both monuments are inscribed with the same theophoric name, Ἡράκλειτος, which, needless to say, is well attested in Boeotia.[11] In the case of the third stone (**A.b.1**) the two double flowers are incised and painted in red, but the inscription is not legible.

8 Bonanno Aravantinos 2006.

9 Fraser & Rönne Linders 1971, pp. 53–54.

10 Bonanno Aravantinos 2006.

11 The name occurs in Boeotia 17 times, twice at Thebes: *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἡράκλειτος.

As already mentioned, Fraser and Rönne's Class B consists of stones with pediment, narrow type. Within this class, I think that we can distinguish two subgroups: (a) stones with painted pediment and decoration; (b) stones with pediment and decoration in relief. In the first subgroup, I included slab **B.a.1** from Tomb 166, in the south sector of the necropolis. The stone preserves the decoration in white, red and blue colors (Fig. 20). It is difficult to say whether the name of the deceased is the masculine Δάφνις or the feminine Δαφνίς, since both are attested in Boeotia.[12]

As for Fraser and Rönne's Class C, which includes large elaborate plaques of rectangular shape, we can distinguish two subgroups: (a) monuments with painted decoration, and (b) monuments with pediment and Doric frieze. To this class belongs **C.a.2** from Tomb 154 in the south sector of the cemetery (Fig. 28), which bears the name Πυθαγόρας, in its first attestation in Boeotia.[13] Of particular interest is the ancient repair of the upper left corner of the stele.

Finally, I will mention some inscribed examples that have enriched the *corpus* of gravestones with Doric friezes. First of all, of the two funerary stones from Tomb 358, one (Fig. 25) belongs to Class B (**B.b.1**), and the other (Fig. 30) to Class C (**C.b.1**), which bear the name of the deceased: Ἀΐμναστος.[14] It is worth noting that in the case of the second example the name was incised in two phases, since the makeshift letters incised on the fresco plaster were not erased when the name was correctly carved in the center of the *tabula*. Finally, a fragment (**B.b.2**) from Tomb 90 in the north sector preserves only the initial letter of the name of the deceased: Z[- - -] (Fig. 26). The lower right edge also preserves a piece of lead. Funerary monuments with Doric friezes are typical of Boeotia and in particular of Thebes. With regard to their model of inspiration, I have put forward the hypothesis that the architectural decoration of the facades of Macedonian tombs was the main influence behind the decorative style of the Boeotian poros-gravestones with a Doric frieze.[15] For instance, the painted facade of the Macedonian tomb at Phoinikas in the

12 *LGPN* III.B, s. vv. Δάφνις and Δαφνίς.

13 The name is attested three times in Thessaly in inscriptions dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC: see *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Πυθαγόρας. In nearby Attica the name occurs 15 times in inscriptions ranging from the 5th century BC to the 3rd century AD: *LGPN* II, s. v. Πυθαγόρας. More widespread is the name's use in the Aegean islands, with 43 attestations: *LGPN* I, s. v. Πυθαγόρας.

14 For the name see Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 163.

15 Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, pp. 167–168.

area of Thessaloniki,[16] which displays the Doric order in all its austere majesty and which was constructed in the last quarter of the 4th century BC, can be compared to the stele of Socrates from Thebes.[17] It is well known that the Macedonians had an extensive presence in Boeotia, especially after the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC and down to the Roman conquest, and this can hardly be a coincidence.[18]

The New Monuments: Stylistic and Onomastic Analysis

Most of the newly found inscribed funerary monuments, however, belong to Class A. To the first subdivision of this class must be assigned the funerary monument of Hippias (Fig. 4), which is broken into two pieces (**A.a.2**), one of them found in secondary use in Tomb 77 of the north sector of the cemetery. Ἱππίας is a fairly aristocratic personal name, with 15 attestations in Boeotia;[19] two of these appear at Thebes, in the Classical and Hellenistic periods respectively, the earlier dated to 363–361 BC[20] and the later to 187–172 BC.[21] A *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the stele is offered by its discovery in Tomb 77, a cist-grave that dates to the second half of the 3rd century BC. The lettering is also consistent with a date in the first half of the 3rd century BC.

A fragmentary tombstone with Ionic cyma (**A.a.3**) preserves a name that can be restored as Ἀ[ρ]κέ[σ]ω[ν] (Fig. 5). Ἀρκέσων is mentioned once in an inscription from Orchomenos dated ca. 223 BC. The name is rare and is attested once in Pagasai in the 5th century BC,[22] whereas it is totally absent from Attica.

The fragments from Tombs 192 (**A.a.4**) and 90 (**A.a.5**) of the north sector of the OSE cemetery bear only parts of names, which cannot be restored with certainty (Figs. 6 and 7). Thus, Ἀνθε[- - -] could be Ἀνθε[ίρα], Ἀνθέ[μα], Ἀνθε[μᾶς], Ἀνθε[μίων], Ἀνθέ[μων], all names attested in several Boeotian inscriptions ranging from the 4th century BC to the 2nd century AD.[23]

16 Tsimpidou-Aulonite 2005, pp. 19–84, pl. 1, 7.

17 Fraser & Rönne Linders 1971, no. 98, fig. 6; Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 163, fig. 24.

18 Cf. Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, pp. 167–168.

19 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἱππίας.

20 *IG* VII 2407, 2408.14.

21 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἱππίας; *SEG* XLI 431.

22 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἀρκέσων.

23 *LGPN* III.B, s. vv. Ἀνθείρα, Ἀνθέμα, Ἀνθεμᾶς, Ἀνθεμίων, Ἀνθέμων.

In the fragment **A.a.5**, the surviving letters [- -]θεν[- -] (Fig. 7) could belong to the name [Παρ]θέν[α], which is attested in Boeotia 14 times, from the 4th century BC down to the Roman Imperial period;[24] [Νυφω]θέν[α], known once from Thespiai, from a Roman Imperial inscription;[25] [Ἀμφισσ]θέν[ια], which is attested only once, in 5th century Thebes;[26] or even [Καλλισ]θέν[ια] attested only once in Central Greece, in Boeotian Thespiai in the 3rd–2nd century BC.[27] Similarly hopeless are any attempts at restoring the name ending in [- -]κλεια on the fragment **A.a.6** (Fig. 8) from Tomb 84 in the north sector, a tomb dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC. The same is true for the name ending in [- - -]ων on the fragment **A.a.7** (Fig. 9) from Tomb 469 of the south sector, a cist-grave dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC and reused in the second half of the 2nd century BC. Another fragment (**A.a.8**) preserves only a single letter, Λ[- - -] (Fig. 10), although we should note the elegant and careful cutting of this letter, which was subsequently painted red.

The second subdivision of Class A, characterized by the presence of painted flowers framing the inscribed name of the deceased, includes several gravestones. The funerary monument of Ἑρμάϊος (**A.b.2**) was found in Tomb 90 in the north sector, a cist-grave dated to the second half of the 3rd century BC (Fig. 12). Ἑρμάϊος is a theophoric name attested in Boeotia 70 times,[28] of which there are 11 occurrences at Thebes in a period stretching from the 5th century BC down to the 3rd century AD.

The fragment **A.b.3** from Tomb 215 in the OSE north sector preserves the first four letters Ἐπιδ[- - -] of a personal name (Fig. 13). Of the several Boeotian names that begin with this sequence of letters, we note Ἐπιδ[δαλίδας], attested at Thebes doubtfully in 274 BC,[29] Ἐπίδ[δαλος], known in Orchomenos from an inscription dating to ca. 475–450 BC,[30] and Ἐπίδ[ρομος], attested only once in an inscription of the 2nd century BC from Oropos.[31]

The name on the fragment **A.b.4** from Tomb 15 in the north sector of the cemetery (Fig. 14) can be restored with certainty as Ταρο[ύλας], which has so far

24 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Παρθένα.

25 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Νυφωθένα.

26 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἀμφισσθένια.

27 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Καλλισθένια.

28 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἑρμάϊος. To the 69 entries in *LGPN* III.B we should now add another occurrence of the name, from an inscription from Lebadeia dating to the Hellenistic period: *SEG* LI 582.

29 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἐπιδδαλίδας.

30 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἐπίδδαλος; see also the extensive discussion by Hans Beck in this volume.

31 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἐπίδρομος.

been absent from Boeotia but is attested in three Thessalian inscriptions of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC,[32] in two documents from Hellenistic Euboea,[33] and in one from Apollonia (Illyria) from the 2nd century BC.[34] More interesting is the distribution of the name Ταρούλας in Aetolia, Macedonia and Propontic Thrace, as known from numerous inscriptions that date to the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.[35]

The fragments from Tombs 100 (**A.b.5**) and 165 (**A.b.6**) of the south sector of the OSE excavations preserve only part of male personal names ending in [- - -]δας (Fig. 15) and [- - -]των (Fig. 16) respectively.

Two fragments can be placed in the third subdivision of Class A, which includes stones with the name of the deceased between two flowers rendered in relief. Fragment **A.c.2** from Tomb 151, in the north sector of the OSE excavation, is the left part of a monument that bears the defective name Ἐπικρατ[- - -] (Fig. 18). The name could be Ἐπικράτ[ης],[36] attested in Boeotia from 424? BC (Thespiai) to the 1st century AD, but not at Thebes,[37] or the variant Ἐπικράτ[εις].[38] Nevertheless, given that there are 7 surviving letters and that the central hole for the support of the stele corresponds to the letter A, I suggest that four more letters should be added to the missing end of the inscription: the restoration Ἐπικρατ[ίδας] seems inevitable. Although the name is attested twice in Orchomenos,[39] this would be its first attestation at Thebes.

Fragment **A.c.3** from Tomb 388 in the south sector of the OSE excavations is the right half of a monument (Fig. 19). It preserves part of a male name ([- - -]μβροτος) and an eight-petalled flower. There are several candidate names from

32 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ταρούλας: 1. 3rd century BC and at Demetrias (twice: ca. 293–168 BC).

33 *LGPN* I, s. v. Ταρούλας.

34 *LGPN* III.A, s. v. Ταρούλας.

35 Treister 2004, pp. 131–132; for the inscribed gold cup with signature Ταρούλας found at Migulinskaia Stanitsa, now lost, see also *SEG* LIV 688.

36 The name Ἐπικράτης is attested in Boeotia 17 times, at Anthedon, Plataiai, Thespiai and Thisbe: *LGPN* III.B, s. v. The restoration Ἐπικράτ[ης] is given by Aravantinos 2009b, 385 and recorded in *SEG* LVI 539, but the correct supplement is provided and explained below in my text.

37 On the name's origin from Euboea, see E. Matthews (ed.), *Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics*, Oxford & New York 2007, pp. 11, 91, 118.

38 Ἐπικράτεις is attested in Boeotia 8 times, in Hyettos, Koroneia, Lebadeia, Thebes and Thespiai: *LGPN* III.B, s.v.

39 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἐπικρατίδας.

Boeotia: Ἐχέμβροτος,[40] Κλεόμβροτος,[41] Ὀνασίμβροτος,[42] as well as the names Σωσίμβροτος[43] and Στασίμβροτος;[44] the last two are known from Thebes. Full restoration is impossible.

In Class B.a, which consists of stones with pediments of the narrow type, we could include the monument of Ἀριστογίτα (**B.a.2**) from Tomb 146 in the south sector (Fig. 21); that of Νίκων (**B.a.3**) (Fig. 22), dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC, from Tomb 135 of the north sector; the fragments from Tomb 49 of the south sector (**B.a.4**) that bear a name which begins with Παυσ[- - -], possibly the beginning of the personal name Παυσανίας (Fig. 23); and a fragment from Tomb 84 of the north sector (**B.a.5**) which preserves traces of a name ending in [- - -]ις (Fig. 24). Νίκων is a name well attested in Boeotia, 121 times, of which there are 13 occurrences at Thebes in inscriptions ranging from the 5th to the 1st century BC.[45] Ἀριστογίτα appears 4 times in Boeotia,[46] of which there is one occurrence at Thebes in the 2nd century AD. Also common is the name Παυσανίας, with 114 attestations in Central Greece, 4 in Boeotia.[47] Strangely, this would be the first appearance of the name at Thebes, if our hypothetical supplement is correct. The hole on the left surface of the fragment from Tomb 84 may suggest that the monument of [- - -]ις was worked in two separate pieces. Tomb 84 is a cist-grave, built of stelai and other items in secondary use from the cemetery. I should mention in passing here that a late Archaic kouros head was also found in the south corner of this tomb.[48]

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40 Ἐχέμβροτος is mentioned in an inscription of Thebes of 7th century BC, but its authenticity has been questioned: see *LGPN* III.B, s. v.

41 Κλεόμβροτος is attested in an inscription from Thisbe of the end of the 3rd century BC: see *LGPN* III.B, s. v.

42 Ὀνασίμβροτος occurs twice at Lebadeia (1st century AD?), and at Orchomenos in inscriptions of the 3rd or 2nd century BC: *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ὀνασίμβροτος.

43 Σωσίμβροτος is known only in Central Greece, in Boeotia, in an inscription from Thebes of the 5th century BC: *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Σωσίβμροτος.

44 Στασίμβροτος is attested in Boeotia only in two inscriptions, one from Thebes of 371 BC and the other from Thespiai of the 3rd century BC: *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Στασίμβροτος.

45 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Νίκων.

46 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἀριστογίτα.

47 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Παυσανίας: at Orchomenos (3rd century BC), at Oropos (3rd century BC, and ca. 235–230 BC), at Tanagra (424 BC).

48 It is finely crafted, in Parian white marble, and it can be dated to 510–500 BC. This is the first kouros found at Thebes and was initially used as a *sema* (marker) on a tomb of a wealthy and socially prominent individual. The author is preparing a study on the head of this kouros and other sculptures of the Archaic period from the OSE necropolis: see further Aravantinos 2009, p. 245, fig. 398; Aravantinos 2010, p. 155, fig. at p. 217.

Two pieces, the gravestone of Aristomenes (**C.a.1**) (Fig. 27) from Tomb 146, in the south sector, and that with the defective name Χαριξε[- - -] (**C.a.3**) (Fig. 29) fall into Class C.a, the larger and elaborated plaques with three or more panels. Of the second name only six letters survive. Given that the letter Ξ aligns with the central hole for the support of the stele, I suggest that only three letters are missing, an observation that makes the restoration Χαρίξε[νος] very likely. As for the name Ἀριστομένης, it is deeply cut in letters of irregular height. The name was widely used in Central Greece (Doris, Phokis, Locris) and in Thessaly, but has only 5 attestations in Boeotia:[49] 4 in Oropos (3rd–2nd century BC) and one in Thespiai (also 3rd–2nd century BC). Yet the new gravestone provides the first occurrence of the name at Thebes. Similarly, this is a first for Χαρίξενος at Thebes, a name otherwise attested 7 times in Boeotia from the 5th down to the 2nd century BC.[50]

To the group of monuments with a Doric frieze we can add a piece (**C.b.2**) (Fig. 31) found in the Sevastopoulos plot, in the area of Aghioi Theodoroi, close to Tomb 24. The fragment, the left half of the original monument, is richly decorated. The cornices are in relief. The central acanthus-calyx of the pediment is flanked by a griffin. In the panel above the pediment there is a flower-scroll. A frieze of triglyphs and metopes is partly preserved: the three metopes contain from left to right a double ten-petalled rosette, a siren standing frontally with lifted wings and with her right hand raised to the head, and a rosette. Sirens are rarely represented in Boeotian funerary art and, to the best of my knowledge, occur only for the third time in this example.[51] At the very bottom there is an elaborate running flower-and-grape-scroll. Between it and the frieze, a fragmentary inscription can be read: Τιμοξ[- - - -]. Given that only five letters survive and that the central hole for the support of the slab corresponds to the letter Ξ, I suggest a name with four additional letters after the break: the restoration Τιμόξενος is plausible. Although the name is attested in Boeotia twelve times, this would be its first attestation at Thebes.[52]

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49 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἀριστομένης.

50 Once in Koroneia (5th century BC), once in Lebadeia (3rd century BC), three times in Orchomenos (4th–3rd century BC), and twice in Thespiai (3rd century BC and 190 BC): see *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Χαρίξενος. One should also compare the female name Χαρίξενα in an inscription on a small poros altar in *poros in antis* dated ca. 525–400 BC (*SEG* XLI 485; *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Χαρίξενα).

51 See Fraser & Rönne 1957, nos. 24, 50, pls. 7, 10; p. 65. For the iconography and interpretation of the sirens, see now Ferrarini & Santoro 2009, with the earlier bibliography, especially pp. 56–59 for the 'Klagende'-type.

52 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Τιμόξενος. The name is attested in inscriptions, dated between the 3rd–2nd

Supports

Fraser and Rönne did not know of any supports belonging to Boeotian funerary plaques. Such pieces, although found in Theban cemeteries, were never collected. The two scholars relied on the T-shaped stelai represented on Theban gravestones for their reconstruction.[53] A small rectangular poros capital decorated with simple palmettes in stucco and pierced with a vertical hole of rectangular shape, found in 1964 with a fragment of a beam-shaped tombstone, suggested to these scholars that the two pieces were related to each other and that the capital was therefore part of the supporting pillar. The capital is similar to the one from Tomb 151 of the north sector of the OSE excavations.[54]

The excavation of the OSE cemetery brought to light a large number of supports, reused as material for the construction of tombs. Cist-grave 358, in which the two tombstones with the name Ἀΐμναστος were reused (**B.b.1, C.b.1**), contained a support broken into three pieces. Its total height is 1.56 m.[55] Several other supports were found with heights ranging from 0.523 m[56] to 1.277 m.[57] The supporting pillar (**S.1**) from Tomb 90 in the north sector has on its front surface two enigmatic letters, N and A (Figs. 32, 33): are these numerals or some unknown abbreviation? With the current state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say.

Other examples have the frontal surface covered with white stucco and decorated with a knotted fillet in red color, as the support from Tomb 388 (Fig. 2c), or with Ionic cyma and palmettes, as the fragment from Tomb 151 in the OSE north sector (Fig. 2b),[58] the same cist-grave of the first half of the 3rd century BC, which produced the two stelai with the name Ἡράκλειτος (**A.a.1; A.c.1**).

The inscribed slabs and their supports were not found *in situ*, but were reused in a pit grave (Tomb 154) (Fig. 2a), in cist graves (Tombs 86, 151, 388) (Figs. 2b, 2c), and in a tile-covered tomb (Tomb 24). Their reuse in cist-graves is attested already in the first half of the 3rd century BC (Tombs of the north sector 84 and 151; see Fig. 2b) and continues until the 1st century AD, with an observable increase in the second half of the 3rd century BC (Tombs from OSE, north sector, nos. 15, 77, 90; south sector nos. 49, 388, 407, 469).

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century BC, at Akraiphia, Hyettos, Orchomenos, Oropos, Tanagra, Thespiai, and in the 1st century AD at Lebadeia.

53 Fraser & Rönne 1957, no. 16, pl. 6; no. 52, pl. 11; nos. 62–65, pl. 12; nos. 71–72, pl. 14.

54 Inv. no. 36711 (unpublished).

55 Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, pp. 167–168, figs. 26–27.

56 For instance, the support inv. no. 33428 (unpublished).

57 For instance, the unpublished support inv. no. 33644 from Tomb 151 in the north sector.

58 Inv. no. 33429 (unpublished).

FIGURE 2A *Tomb 154*

FIGURE 2B *Tomb 151*

FIGURE 2C *Tomb 388*

Funerary Stelai: Some Considerations

Among materials reused in tombs of the south sector there are also the following types: a single simple pedimental stele with a sunken panel; stelai with side and top acroteria; and pseudo-pedimental stelai. In almost all cases, their frontal surfaces are covered with white stucco. To the group of stelai with pedimental finials belong: (1) The stele of Anphio and Archo (ST I.1; fig. 34) from Tomb 407. (2) The stele of Aphrodeisia (ST I.2; fig. 35) from Tomb 469. (3) The stele of Notion (ST I.3; fig. 36) from Tomb 388. (4) The stele of Perigenes (ST I.4; fig. 37) from Tomb 271: on the frontal surface there are traces of the knotted fillet, in red color, a feature that is better preserved in other stelai of the cemetery, as on the stele inv. 33419 from Tomb 59. (5) The stele of Stratonika (ST I.5; fig. 38). (6) The stele of Timarchos (ST I.6; fig. 39) from Sections 27–27a-28–28a.

As I have mentioned, there is one inscribed pedimental stele with a sunken panel, the stele of Paillos (ST III.1; figs. 41–42), with three acroteria and eight-petalled rosettes in the pediment.

There are five pseudo-pedimental stelai, of which three come from Tomb 358: the stele of Bio (ST IV.2; fig. 44), with traces on the front of a red knotted

fillet; the stele of Kaphisodoros (ST IV.3; fig. 45), with a twelve-petalled rosette in pediment; and a fragmentary stele (ST IV.5; fig. 48) which shows in the center of the pediment a nude female figure with her right hand raised to the head (a siren?), a motif that occurs only rarely on Theban tombstones.[59] The fourth stele is that of Apollonia (ST IV.1; fig. 43), whose surface is very damaged, with only some traces of stucco surviving, whereas the stele fifth consists of two fragments (ST IV.4; figs. 46–47), one of which comes from the Tomb 191 and bears parts of a name which can be restored as T[ριε]τηρίς.

Finally, there is one stele that has top and side finial acroteria, the stele of Nikon (ST II.1; fig. 40) from Tomb 407.

Funerary Formulas: Typology and Onomastics

The average text on the Theban funerary monuments under examination is brief, confined as it is to the name of the dead man or woman. The name of the deceased, without any invocation and unaccompanied by other supplementary information such as a patronymic or an ethnic, is always in the nominative case. Of course this custom, single names in the nominative case, was widespread in many parts of the Greek world. Patronymics became more common in the Greek world from the 4th century BC onwards, but Boeotia does not conform to this practice.[60]

The position of the inscription was partly dictated, as we have seen, by the restrictions imposed by the form and ornamental features of the tombstone itself. In stones that have pedimental crownings, the inscription is carved on the upper part of the shaft of the monument, directly beneath the broad band below the relief pedimental crowning, usually in one single line running along the full width. On pedimental monuments with sunken panels, as in the case of the stele of Paillos, the inscription is on the first band of the architrave, while we may assume that there was painted decoration in the sunken panel.

In several instances, the onomastics of the new gravestones are of special interest. The great majority of the personal names are common Greek names in use over a long period of time and are therefore of little value as chronological indications: Ἑρμάϊος, for example, is attested in Boeotian inscriptions 70 times from the 5th century BC down to the 3rd century AD, and was particularly common throughout the Hellenistic period. Καφισόδωρος is also widespread,

59 See note 50.

60 See the excellent discussion in Fraser & Rönne 1957, pp. 92–101, and Vottero 1987.

with 108 attestations from the 5th to the 2nd century BC; Νίκων is attested 121 times in roughly the same period.

For obvious reasons, the student of onomastics is particularly attracted to unique or rare names. In our case, an unquestionably interesting name is Νότιον. With no previous attestations, it is a *hapax* female name formed with the addition of the neuter suffix–ίον, and is etymologically related to νότος, "south," and νότιος, "wet," or "southern." Other names, though not unique, have so far not been attested in Boeotia, for instance Πυθαγόρας, Ταρούλας, Στρατονίκα. Still others appear for the first time at Thebes: this is true of Ἀπολλωνία,[61] Ἀριστομένης, Ἀρκέσων, Ἀρχώ, Βιώ, Ἐπικρατίδας, Πάϊλλος, Παυσανίας, and Τίμαρχος.

Πάϊλλος, which according to Masson is derived from πάϊλλος "young man",[62] appears to be rare, with only one known example from Central Greece, from Orchomenos of the late 3rd–early 2nd century BC.[63] Ἀνφιώ, a variant of Ἀμφιώ through nasalization of the *mu*, was known from only one inscription from Thebes (*IG* VII 2489), dated, not securely, to the 1st century AD.[64]

The festival-name Τριετηρίς, which is absent from Central Greece and only occurs in one inscription from Thebes dated to the 3rd–2nd century BC,[65] deserves further investigation. It will have been inspired by trieteric festivals like the famous one celebrated in honor of Dionysos Kadmeios at Thebes.[66] Ἀριστογίτα appears in Central Greece only in Boeotian inscriptions. At Thebes itself, it is known from an example that dates to the 2nd century AD.[67]

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61 Ἀπολλωνία, attested 12 times in Boeotia according to *LGPN* III.B, s. v., as well as Ἀφροδεισία, with 8 attestations in *LGPN* III.B, are names with religious inspiration ('theophoric') that express a close relationship with a deity: see O. Masson, "Remarques sur les noms de femmes en grec", in Masson 2000, pp. 93, 96.

62 O. Masson, "Quelques anthroponimes béotiens: Πάϊλλος, Παϊλλέας, etc., et le mot πάϊλλος, "garçon" ", in Masson 1990, pp. 471–473; idem, "Quelques noms macédoniens dans le traité *IG* I² 71 = *IG* I³ 89", in Masson 2000, pp. 292–293, note 6. Masson points out that the use of πάϊλλος is limited to Boeotia, particularly in the epitaphs found in Tanagra: *IG* VII 699–708. See also *IG* VII 2900, 3118 (Koroneia, Lebadeia). The form Πάϊιλλος is also attested: *IG* VII 703 and 3515 (Tanagra).

63 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Πάϊλλος. The name is also attested in an inscription from Thessalonike, dated to 223 BC: *LGPN* IV, s. v. Πάϊλλος.

64 *LGPN* III.B, s. v. Ἀνφιώ.

65 *LGPN* III.B, s.v. Τριετηρίς (from a pedimental poros funerary stele: Τριετηρὶς | χρηστή: A.D. Keramopoullos, "Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐκ Βοιωτίας", *AE* (1934–1935) Chronika, p. 11 no. 143).

66 *CID* IV 71, ll. 4, 6–7; with Rigsby 1996, p. 69.

67 *LGPN* III.B, s.v., Ἀριστογίτα.

As already mentioned, for the most part the names *per se* do not provide a firm chronological basis. Dating by letter-forms is equally tricky since certain letter-forms were in use for a long time, although we have resorted to this dating criterion for lack of better alternatives. There is, however, a terminus ante quem for dating the monuments, namely the funerary offerings that date the tombs in which the gravestones were reused. This is the case, for example, with Tomb 151 (Fig. 2b), a cist-grave of the north sector, in which were found two stelai with the name Ἡράκλειτος and the fragment with the name that we have provisionally restored as Ἐπικρατίδας (**A.a.1; A.c.1; A.c.2**). The tomb is dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC. To the same period belongs also Tomb 84, a cist-grave in the north sector, in which were found, along with other unpublished stelai, two fragments analyzed here (**A.a.6; B.a.5**).

To the second half of the 3rd century BC belong several cist-graves. In the north sector: Tomb 15, in which was found the fragment with the name Ταρούλας (**A.b.4**), Tomb 77 with the gravestone of Ἱππίας (**A.a.2**), and Tomb 90, which produced the gravestones with the lone surviving letter Z[- - -] and with the defective name [- -]θεν[- -] (**B.b.2; A.a.5**). In the south sector: Tomb 388 (Fig. 2c), with the gravestones of Notion and [- - -]mbrotos (**ST I.3; A.c.3**); Tomb 49, in which was found the fragment with the name restored as Παυσανίας (**A.c.4**), reused in the first half of the 2nd century BC; and Tomb 469, reused in the second half of the 2nd century BC, with the stele of Ἀφροδεισία and the fragment with a name ending in [-]ων (**ST I.2; A.a.7**).

To the first half of the 2nd century BC are dated three tombs in the south sector of the necropolis: pit-grave 166, in which was found the stele of Δαφνις (**B.a.1**), and cist-graves 100, with the fragment with the name ending in [- - -]δας (**A.b.5**), and 358, in which were reused two stelai with the name Ἀΐμναστος and those of Βιώ and Καφισόδωρος, as well as the fragment with the inscription [- - -]ισ[- - -]ς (**B.b.1; C.b.1; ST IV.2, 3, 5**).

To the second half of the 2nd century BC belong two pit-graves in the south sector: 146, in which were found the monuments of Ἀριστογίτα and Ἀριστομένης (**B.a.2; C.a.1**), and 154 (Fig. 2a), with the monument of Πυθαγόρας (**C.a.2**).

To the 1st century BC–1st century AD is dated a cist-grave in the south sector from which comes one of the fragments of the stele with the name Τριετηρίς (**ST IV.4**).

A special case is Tomb 407. The cist-grave is dated by means of its offerings to the second half of the 3rd century BC. However, the stelai used to cover this tomb, those of Ἀνφιώ/Ἀρχώ and Νίκων (**ST I.1; ST II.1**), cannot possibly be so early. In particular, the form of the letters of the inscription Ἀνφιώ/Ἀρχώ is certainly much later and can be dated to the Roman period, perhaps as late as

the 3rd century AD. Either the stele or simply the inscription might have been a later addition.

In general, the gravestones found in the OSE necropolis predate by one or two generations the construction of the tombs in which they were employed in secondary use. A more precise chronology of the funerary monuments could be possible if they were reused in cist-graves for the construction of their side-walls or as covers. The analysis of the tomb offerings and of the excavation data in their entirety, a process that is still in progress, will clarify the chronological phases of the transformation of the necropolis and will allow us to contextualize this process in relation to the events that shaped the history of the city-state of Thebes.

Catalogue[68]

Class A. Narrow Beam-Shaped Stones

A.a Inscribed Beam-Shaped Stones with Moulding on the Top

FIGURE 3 *A.a.1*

1. Funerary monument of Herakleitos
Inv. 33415. OSE, north sector, Tomb 151.
Poros. Mended from two joining fragments. H. 0.219; W. 0.815; Th. 0.99–1.01. Central support-hole: L. 0.069; W. 0.019; Depth 0.081. Four circular holes in the upper surface: D. 0.07; Depth 0.029. Inscription: L.H. 0.042–0.08.

Ἡράκλειτος.

68 Abbreviations used: H(eight); W(idth); Th(ickness); L(ength); D(iameter); L(etter) H(eight); measurements are in meters.

Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, pp. 157–158, figs. 4–5; Aravantinos 2009b, p. 385, fig. 9.
Date: late 4th century BC.

FIGURE 4 *A.a.2*

2. Funerary monument of Hippias
Inv. 33587+32943. OSE, north sector, Tomb 77 (33587) and collected (32943).
Poros. Mended from two fragments. H. 0.138; W. 0.535; Th. 0.108–0.114. Central support-hole: L. 0.048; W. 0.028; Depth 0.047. Two holes in the upper surface: 0.02 × 0.02 × 0.02. Inscription, L.H. 0.045–0.055.

Ἱππίας.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: First half of the 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 5 *A.a.3*

3. Fragmentary funerary monument of Arkeson
No inv. OSE, collected.
Poros. Broken at left and right. H. 0.182; W. 0.552; Th. 0.092. Central support-hole: L. 0.048; W. 0.019; Depth 0.069. Hole in the upper surface: 0.014 × 0.017; Depth 0.022.

Inscription, L.H. 0.047–0.056.
'A[ρ]κέ[σ]ω[ν].
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 6 *A.a.4*

4. Fragmentary funerary monument of Anthe[- - -]
Inv. 33624. OSE, north sector, Tomb 192.
Compact poros. Broken on the left and the right. H. 0.155; W. 0.307; Th. 0.08. Central support-hole: L. 0.021; Depth 0.035. Two holes in the upper surface: i) 0.01×0.018; Depth 0.025. ii) 0.01×0.018; Depth 0.029. The fragment comes from the left part of the monument.
Inscription, L.H. 0.045.
'Ανθε[- - -].
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 7 *A.a.5*

5. Fragmentary funerary monument.
Inv. no. 32937. OSE, north sector, Tomb 90.
Compact poros. Broken on the left and the right. H. 0.224; W. 0.43; Th. 0.105–0.114. Central support-hole: 0.018×0.053; Depth 0.06. Two orifices (0.025×0.025; Depth 0.095) on the right break belong to an ancient repair.
Inscription, L.H. 0.036–0.059.

[- - -]θεν[- - -].

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 8 *A.a.6*

6. Fragmentary funerary monument.
Inv. 32925. OSE, north sector, Tomb 84.
Poros. Broken on the left. H. 0.165; W. 0.401; Th. 0.10–0.105. Central support-hole: Th. 0.071. Hole in the upper surface: 0.017 × 0.015; Depth 0.026.
The fragment belongs to the right part of the stele. Red color in the engraved letters.
Inscription, L.H. 0.065–0.07.

[- - -]κλεια.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 9 *A.a.7*

7. Fragmentary funerary monument
Inv. 33639. OSE, south sector, Tomb 469.
Poros. Broken on the left. H. 0.215; W. 0.355; Th. 0.078. Hole in the upper surface: 0.016 × 0.026; Depth 0.029. The fragment belongs to the right part of the stele. Inscription: L.H. 0.056–0.084.

[- - -]ων.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 10 *A.a.8*

FIGURE 11 *Side of A.a.8.*

8. Fragmentary funerary monument
Inv. 32939. OSE, north sector, collected near the pyre T 16.
Poros. Broken on the right. H. 0.152; W. 0.17; Th. 0.105–0.11. On the left side there is a groove for the attachment of this part to another monument: W. 0.02, orifice 0.019 × 0.019, depth 0.02. The fragment belongs to the left part of the gravestone. The surviving letter is painted in red. Inscription, L.H. 0.05.

Λ[- - -].

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late 4th–3rd century BC?

A.b Inscribed Beam-Shaped Stones with Two Painted Flowers

1. Funerary monument of an unknown deceased
Inv. 33668. OSE, north sector, Tomb 151.
Complete. H. 0.205; W. 1.064; Th. 0.10. Central support-hole: W. 0.058; L. 0.02; Depth 0.058. Illegible traces of letters.
Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 157, fig. 7.

FIGURE 12 *A.b.2*

2. Funerary monument of Hermaios
Inv. no. 33404. OSE, North Sector, Tomb 90.
Poros. Mended from two fragments. H. 0.147; W. 0.84; Th. 0.095. Central support-hole: 0.061 × 0.022; Depth 0.041. Four holes in the upper surface: 0.018 × 0.019; Depth 0.025.
Inscription, L.H. 0.031–0.052.

Ἑρμάϊος.

Bibliography: Aravantinos 2009b, p. 385, fig. 8 (see now *SEG* LVI 537).
Date: Late 4th-mid 3rd century BC.

FIGURE 13 *A.b.3*

3. Fragmentary funerary monument of Epid[- - -]
Inv. 33642. OSE, north sector, Tomb 215.
Poros. Broken on the right. H. 0.156; W. 0.33; Th. 0.088. Two holes in the upper surface: 0.009 × 0.012; Depth 0.022–0.023.
The fragment belongs to the left part of a stele.
Inscription, L.H. 0.042–0.043 m.

Ἐπιδ[- - -].

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 14 *A.b.4*

4. Fragmentary funerary monument of Taro[ulas]
Inv. 32920+32929. OSE, north sector, Tomb 15 (32929), collected (32920).
Poros. Mended from two fragments. Broken on the right. H. 0.175; W. 0.39; Th. 0.069. Central support-hole: 0.013×0.061; Depth 0.065. Hole in the upper surface: 0.009×0.023; Depth 0.023.
White and red color in the upper Ionic cyma.
Inscription, L.H. 0.03–0.053.

Ταρο[ύλας].

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: First half of the 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 15 *A.b.5*

5. Fragmentary funerary monument of [- - -]das
Inv. 33403. OSE, south sector, Tomb 100.
Poros. Broken on the left. H. 0.202; W. 0.455; Th. 0.088. Two holes in the upper surface: 0.017×0.017; Depth 0.029.
The fragment belongs to the right part of the inscribed slab. On the far right is a floral pattern with two concentric circles.
Inscription, L.H. 0.061–0.068 m.

[- - -]δας.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 16 *A.b.6*

6. Fragmentary funerary monument of [- - -]ton.
Inv. 33431. OSE, south sector, Tomb 165.
Poros. Mended from two fragments. Broken on the left. H. 0.18; W. 0.402; Th. 0.086.
The fragment belongs to the right part of the monument. Red color in the upper Ionic cyma, the letters, and the right flower.
Inscription, L.H. 0.035–0.041 m.

[- - -]τωv.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: late 3rd century BC?

A.c Inscribed Beam-Shaped Stones with Two Flowers in Relief and Painted

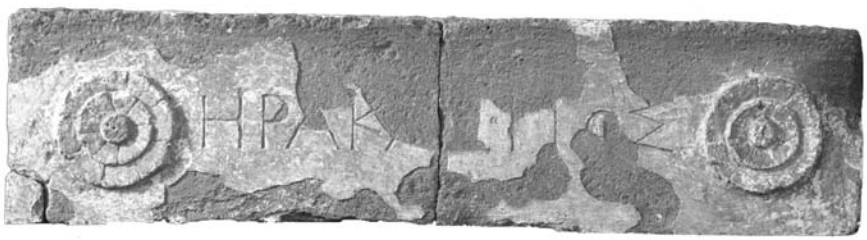

FIGURE 17 *A.c.1*

1. Funerary monument of Herakleitos.
Inv. 33601. OSE, north sector, Tomb 151.
Poros. Mended from three fragments. H. 0.256; W. 1.06; Th. 0.103–0.108. Central support-hole: W. 0.079; L. 0.024; Depth 0.086.
Inscription, L.H. 0.06.

Ἡράκλειτος.

Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 157, fig. 6 (now *SEG* LVI 523)
Date: late 4th century BC.

FIGURE 18 *A.c.2*

2. Fragmentary funerary monument of Epikrat[idas] Fig. 23
Inv. 36712. OSE, north sector, Tomb 151.
Poros. Broken on the right. H. 0.195; W. 0.599; Th. 0.102. Central support-hole: 0.078×0.021; Depth 0.072. Two holes in the upper surface: i) 0.018×0.012; Depth 0.023. ii) 0.02×0.02; Depth 0.023.
The fragment belongs to the left part of the stele.
Inscription, L.H. 0.060–0.066 m.

Ἐπικρατ[ίδας].

Bibliography: Aravantinos 2009 b, p. 385, fig. 10 (cf. *SEG* LVI 539).
Date: late 4th–3rd century BC?

FIGURE 19 *A.c.3*

3. Fragmentary funerary monument of [- - -]mbrotos
Inv. 33622. OSE, south sector, Tomb 388.
Compact poros. Mended from two fragments. Broken on the left. H. 0.24; W. 0.60; Th. 0.12. Central support-hole: L. 0.07; W. 0.03; Depth 0.08. Holes in the upper surface: 0.02 × 0.02; Depth 0.04. At the rear a large rectangular hole: L. 0.27; W. 0.095; Depth 0.07.
Right part of the stele with eight-petalled flower.
Inscription, L.H. 0.026–0.030 m.

[- - -]μβροτος.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

Class B. Stones with Pediment, Narrow Type

B.a Stones with Painted Pediment and Decoration

FIGURE 20 *B.a.1*

1. Funerary monument of Daphnis
Inv. 33413. OSE, south sector, Tomb 166.
Poros. Mended from three fragments. H. 0.20, W. 0.783, Th. 0.078. Central support-hole: L. 0.046; W. 0.019; Depth 0.058.
Inscription, L.H. 0.04–0.05 m.

Δαφνις.

Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 157, fig. 8; Aravantinos 2009 b, p. 383, fig. 6 (see now *SEG* LVI 525).
Date: late 3rd century BC.

FIGURE 21 *B.a.2*

2. Funerary monument of Aristogita
Inv. 33667. OSE, south sector, Tomb 146.
Poros. Mended from two fragments. H. 0.244; W. 0.992; Th. 0.091. Central support-hole: 0.08 × 0.027; Depth 0.09.
Inscription, L.H. 0.037–0.057 m.

Ἀριστογίτα.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 22 *B.a.3*

3. Funerary monument of Nikon
Inv. 33425. OSE, north sector, Tomb 135.
Poros. Mended from two fragments. Top part missing. H. 0.258; W. 0.80; Th. 0.085.
Inscription, L.H. 0.045–0.059 m.
Νίκων.
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 1st half of the 3rd century BC?

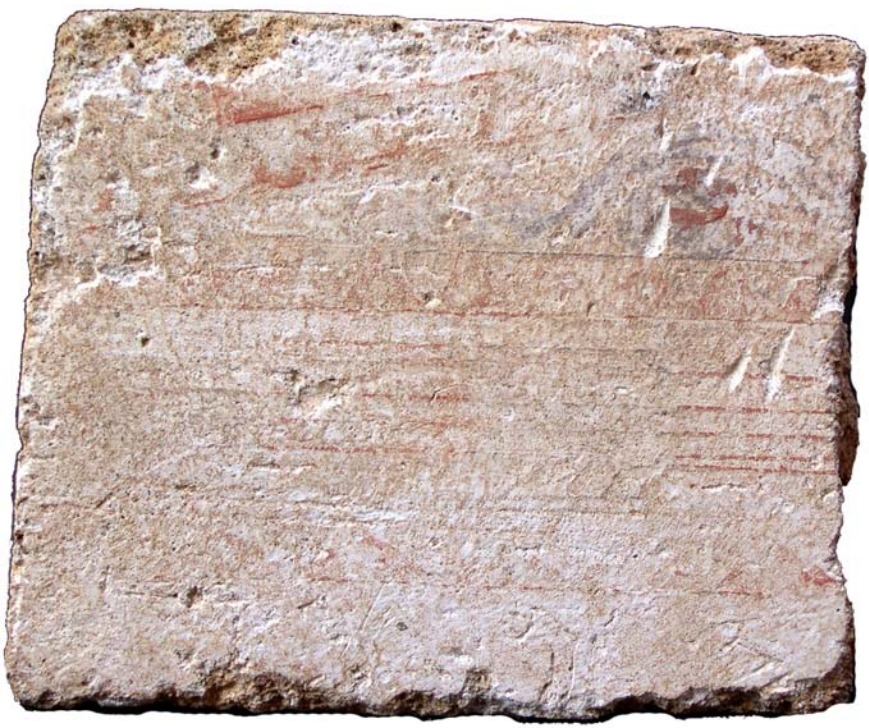

FIGURE 23 *B.a.4*

4. Fragmentary funerary monument of Paus[anias?]
Inv. 41116. OSE, south sector, Tomb 49.
Sandy poros. Broken on the right. H. 0.204; W. 0.255; Th. 0.066. Central support-hole: 0.018; Depth 0.061.
Left part of a stele. Blue floral decoration in the pediment, Ionic cyma, eight red lines.
Inscription, L.H. 0.033–0.039 m.
Παυσ[ανίας?].

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC?

FIGURE 24 *B.a.5*

5. Fragmentary funerary monument of [- - -]is
Inv. 33426. OSE, north sector, Tomb 84.
Poros. Broken on the left. H. 0.216; W. 0.22; Th. 0.076. Hole in the left surface: 0.018 × 0.067; Depth 0.074.
The piece belongs to the right part of the stele.
Inscription, L.H. 0.047–0.059 m.

[- - -]ις.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: late 3rd century BC?

B.b Stones with Pediment and Decoration in Relief

FIGURE 25 *B.b.1*

1. Funerary monument of Aimnastos
Inv. 33434. OSE, south sector, Tomb 358.
Poros. Mended from two fragments. H. 0.435; W. 1.245 (up); Th. 0.105–0.125. Central support-hole: L. 0.085; W. 0.032; Depth 0.10. Three holes in the upper surface: (i) 0.017 × 0.02; (ii) 0.022 × 0.018; (iii) 0.02 × 0.017.
Inscription, L.H. 0.044–0.07 m.

Αἴμναστος.

Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 163, n. 1, figs. 10–11 (see now *SEG* LVI 527).
Date: early 3rd century BC.

FIGURE 26 *B.b.2*

2. Fragmentary funerary monument of Z[- - -]
Inv. 32922. OSE, north sector, Tomb 90.
Poros. Broken on the right. H. 0.30; W. 0.416; Th. 0.107.
Inscription, L.H 0.048 m.

Z[- - -].

Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 163, n. 4, figs. 16–17 (see now *SEG* LVI 528).
Date: late 3rd century BC.

Class C. Larger, Elaborated Type Plaques of Rectangular Shape

C.a Larger, Elaborated Type Plaques of Rectangular Shape with Painted Decoration

FIGURE 27 *C.a.1*

1. Funerary monument of Aristomenes

Inv. 33649. OSE, south sector, Tomb 146.

Poros. Mended from two fragments. H. 0.359; W. 0.58; Th. 0.07. Central support-hole: measurements unobtainable.

Inscription, L.H. 0.028–0.040 m.

Ἀριστομένης.

Bibliography: Aravantinos 2009 b, p. 383, fig. 5 (see now *SEG* LVI 532).

Date: 3rd century BC.

FIGURE 28 *C.a.2*

2. Funerary monument of Pythagoras
Inv. 33417. OSE, south sector, Tomb 154.
Poros. Mended from three fragments. H. 0.368, W. 0.813, Th. 0.09. Central support-hole: L. 0.084; W. 0.019; Depth 0.085.
Inscription, H. 0.035–0.062.

Πυθαγόρας.

Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, p. 157, fig. 9; Aravantinos 2009 b, p. 383 (see now *SEG* LVI 526).
Date: late 3rd century BC.

FIGURE 29 *C.a.3*

3. Fragment of the funerary monument of Charixe[nos]
Inv. 39273. OSE, south sector, collected.
Friable poros. Broken below, on the left and on the right. H. 0.33; W. 0.355; Th. 0.085–0.10. Central support-hole: 0.083 × 0.02; Depth 0.06.
Part of the left half of the stele. Pediment with traces of scroll with blue and red colors on white ground. On cornices, egg-and-tongue in white and red. Frieze divided into three fields: traces of red and blue colors on white ground. At bottom, panel with inscription engraved on white ground.
Inscription, L.H. 0.039–0.06 m.

Χαρίξε[νος].

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 2nd century BC?

C.b Pedimental. Doric Frieze

FIGURE 30 *C.b.1*

1. Funerary monument of Ἀΐμναστος
Inv. 33460. OSE, south sector, Tomb 358.
H. 0.62; W. 1.23–1.24; Th. 0.08–0.11.
Central support-hole: L. 0.124; W. max. cons. 0.02; Dep. 0.095.
Inscription, L.H. 0.042–0.053 m.
Ἀΐμναστος.
Bibliography: Bonanno Aravantinos 2006, pp. 163–164, no. 5, figs. 18–20 (see now *SEG* LVI 529).
Date: late 3rd century BC.

FIGURE 31 *C.b.2*

2. Funerary monument of Timox[enos]
No inv. Plot Sevastopoulos, close to Tomb 24.
Poros. Broken on the right. H. 0.635; W. 0.66; Th. 0.095. Central support-hole: L. 0.10; Depth 0.15.
Left part of the stele. Rich decoration with a flower scroll; triglyph-frieze and three metopes are preserved.
Inscription, L.H. 0.035–0.06.

Τιμόξ[ενος].

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 3rd century BC.

Supports

FIGURE 32 *S.1*

FIGURE 33 *S.1* (*detail*)

S.1. Support
Inv. 32963. OSE, north sector, Tomb 90.
Poros. H. 1.085; W. 0.202–0.212; Th. 0.08–0.85. Central dowel on the top: L. 0.08.
Broken in three fragments. Traces of red color.
Inscription, L.H. 0.021–0.022 m.
N A.
Bibliography: unpublished.

ST I. Pedimental Stelai

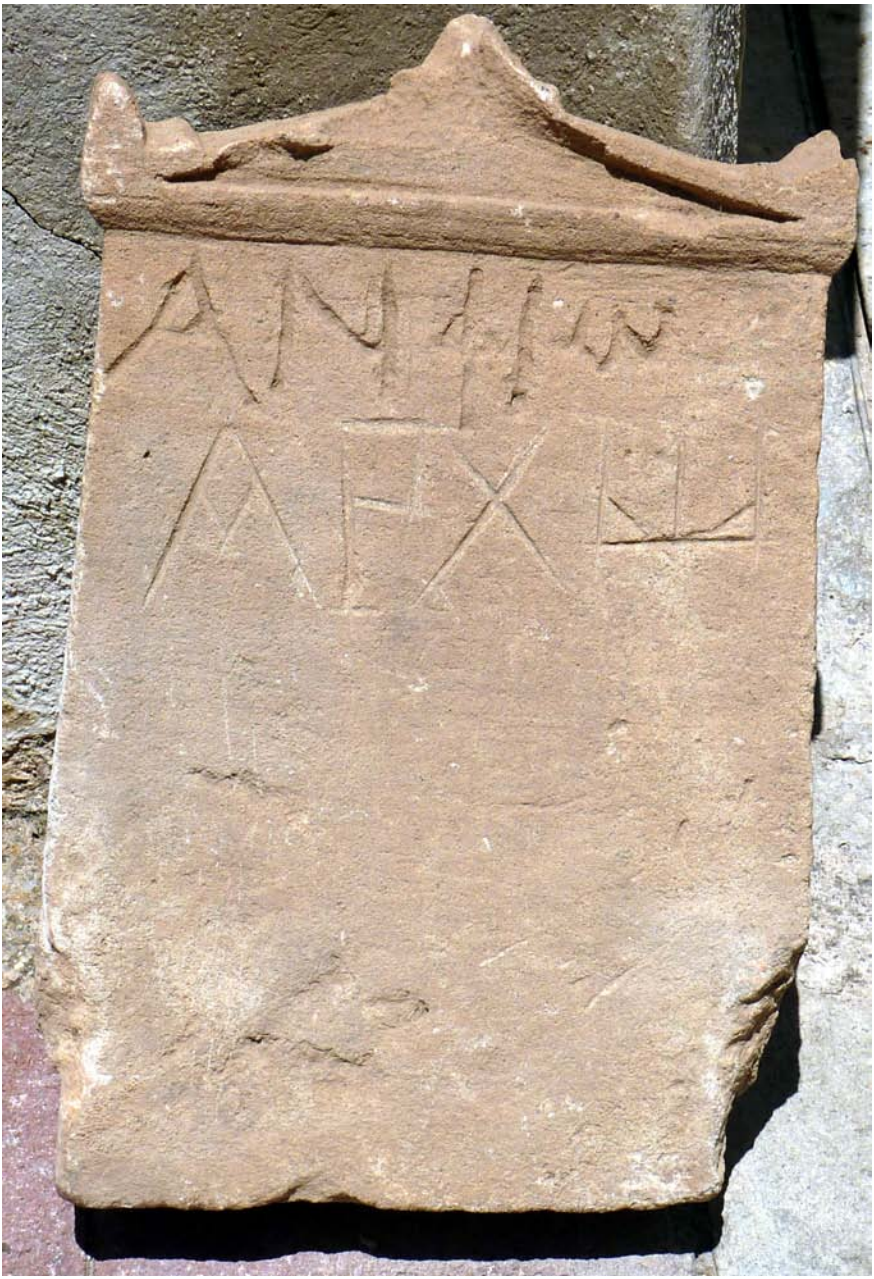

FIGURE 34 *ST I.1*

1. Stele of Anphio and Archo
Inv. 33619. OSE, south sector, Tomb 407.
Compact poros. H. 0.365; W. 0.217–0.238; Th. 0.088.
Inscription, L.H. 0.022–0.05 m.
Ἀνφιώ.
Inscription, L.H. 0.38–0.59.
Ἀρχώ.
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Roman Imperial?

FIGURE 35 *ST I.2*

2. Stele of Aphrodeisia
Inv. 33652. OSE, south sector, Tomb 469.
Poros. Missing the top acroterium and the lower left and right corners. H. 0.385; W. 0.259–0.271: Th. 0.073–0.08.6.
Inscription, L.H. 0.02–0.032 m.
Ἀφροδεισία.
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Hellenistic?

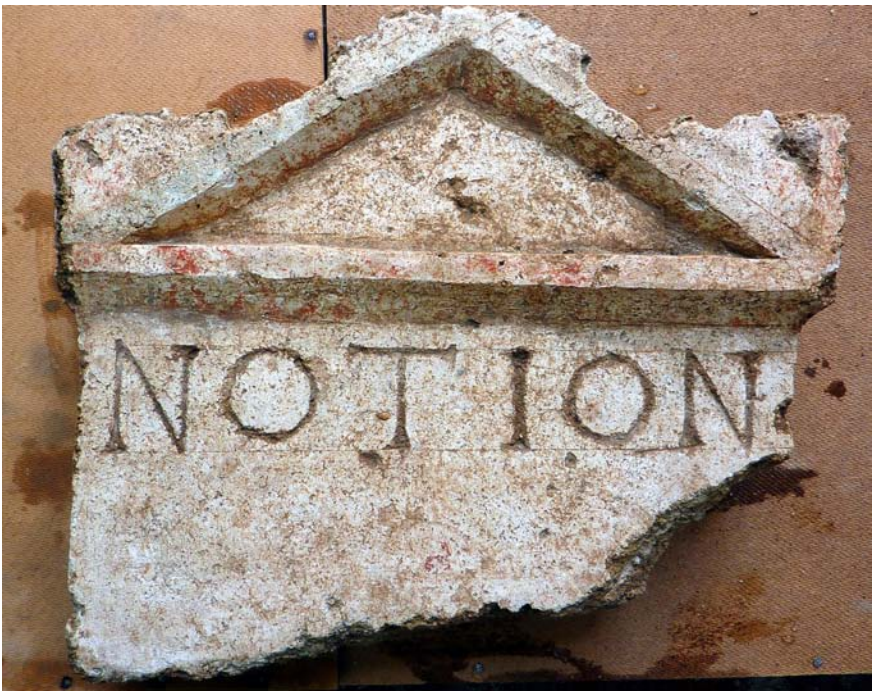

FIGURE 36 *ST I.3*

3. Stele of Notion
Inv. 33522. OSE, south sector, Tomb 388.
Friable poros. H. 0.31; W. 0.355; Th. 0.085–0.091.
Inscription, L.H. 0.04–0.05 m.
Νότιον.
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 2nd/1st century BC?

FIGURE 37 *ST I.4*

4. Stele of Perigenes
Inv. 33464. OSE, south sector, Tomb 271.
Friable poros. Front surface covered with stucco. H. 0.416; W. 0.30–0.312; Th. 0.09–0.10.
Traces of red knotted fillet.
Inscription (with traces of horizontal guidelines), L.H. 0.026–0.030 m.

Περιγένης.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Hellenistic?

FIGURE 38 *ST I.5*

5. Stele of Stratonika
No inv.

Στρατονίκα.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Hellenistic?

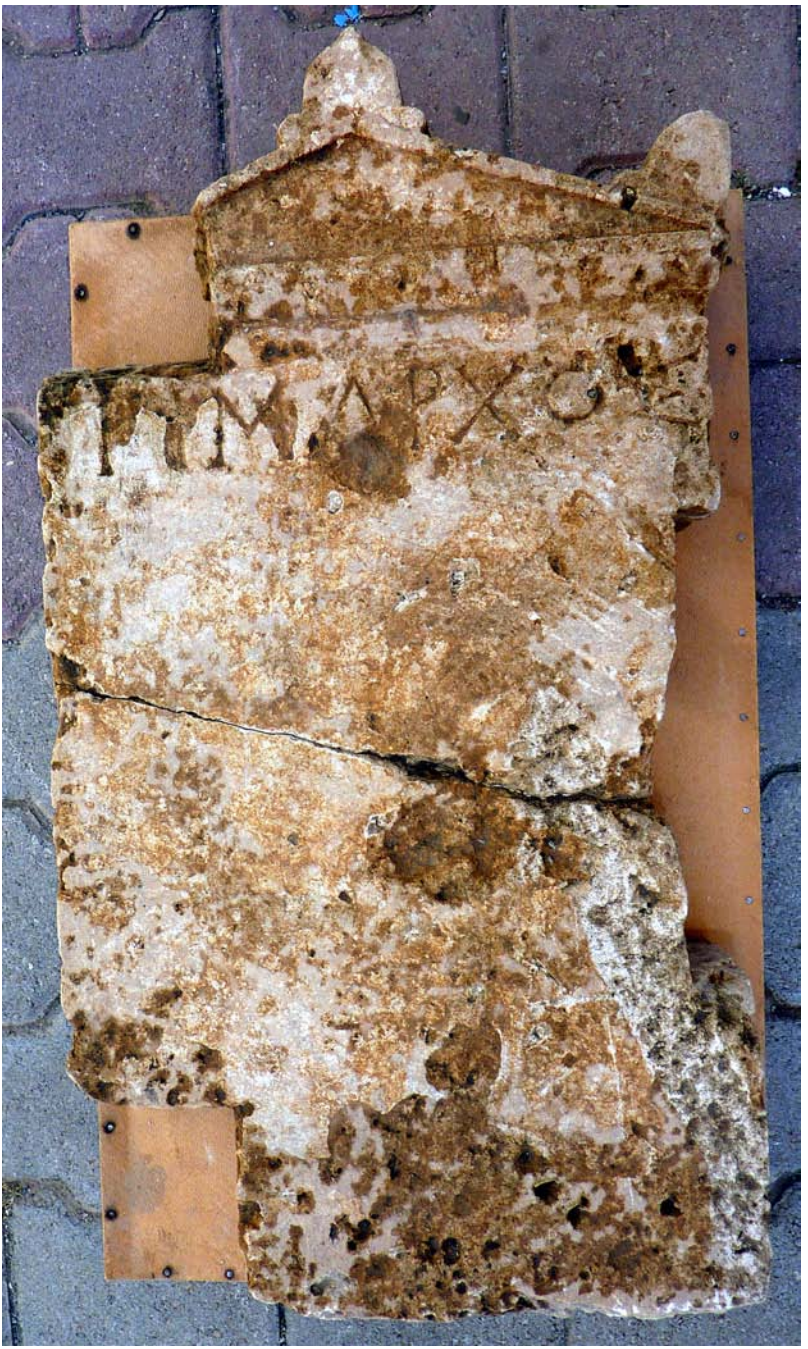

FIGURE 39 *ST I.6.*

6. Stele of Timarchos
Inv. 33614. OSE, south sector, Sections 27–27a-28–28a.
Limestone. Mended from two fragments. Missing the upper and lower left corners and part of the right edge. H. 0.68; W. 0.355; Th. 0.08.
Inscription, L.H. 0.03–0.043 m.
Τίμαρχος.
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 2nd century BC?

ST II. Stelai with Top and Side Acroteria Finials

FIGURE 40 *ST II.1*

1. Stele of Nikon
Inv. 33604. OSE, south sector, Tomb 407.
Porous limestone. Broken at the lower right corner. H. 0.63 m; W. 0.23; Th. 0.101–111. Front surface covered with white stucco; traces of color.
Inscription, L.H. 0.027–0.03 m.

Νίκων.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Hellenistic?

ST III. Pedimental Stelai with Sunken Panel and Side and Top Acroteria

FIGURE 41 *ST III.1*

FIGURE 42 *ST III.1* (*detail of the inscription*)

1. Stele of Paillos
Inv. 33439. OSE, south sector, collected.
Poros. Mended from two fragments. Parts of the acroteria are missing. H. 0.805; W. 0.34–0.375; Th. 0.105–0.11. Sunken panel: H. 0.54; W. 0.25–0.265; Th. 0.32–0.33. An eight-petalled flower in pediment.
Inscription, L.H. 0.022–0.03 m.

Παΐϊ{η}λλος.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 2nd/1st century BC?

ST IV. Pseudo-Pedimental Stelai

FIGURE 43 *ST IV.1*

1. Stele of Apollonia
Inv. 33438. OSE, south sector, collected.
Poros. Missing the upper right corner and the lower left corner. H. 69.5; W. 38–40.7; Th. 11–12.5.
Inscription, L.H. 0.025–0.04 m.
Ἀπολλωνία.
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Hellenistic/Early Roman Imperial?

FIGURE 44 *ST IV.2*

2. Stele of Bio
Inv. 33436. OSE, south sector, Tomb 358.
Poros or limestone. Mended from two fragments. H. 0.69; W. 0.25–0.304; Th. 0.08–0.087.
The pediment has a tall central acroterium. Beneath the pediment is engraved the inscription. On the white stucco of the front, traces of the red knotted fillet. Inscription between visible horizontal guidelines, L.H. 0.024–0.032 m.

Βιὼ χρηστή.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Hellenistic/Early Roman Imperial?

FIGURE 45 *ST IV.3*

3. Stele of Kaphisodoros
Inv. 33435. OSE, south sector, Tomb 358.

Poros. Mended from two fragments. H. 0.92; W. 0.47 (0.362 at the base); Th. 0.10. The lower part is rough-hewn for insertion in the ground or a base. The lower corners are cut. Twelve-petalled flower in the pediment.
Inscription with guidelines, L.H. 0.025–0.03 m.

Καφισόδωρος.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: 1st century BC–1st century AD?

FIGURE 46 *ST IV.4* (*left fragment*)

FIGURE 47 *ST IV.4* (*right fragment*)

4. Fragmentary stele of T[rie]teris

Poros or limestone? Inv. 33406 and 33407. Two non-joining fragments. OSE, south sector, Sections 10–11–11a–10a (33406), Tomb 191 (33407).

Inv. 33406: H. 0.22; W. 0.158; Th. 0.053; inv. 33407: H. 0.21; W. 0.15; Th. 0.06–0.07.

Inscription between visible horizontal guidelines, L.H. 0.023 m.

Τ[ριε]τηρίς.

Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Hellenistic/Early Roman Imperial?

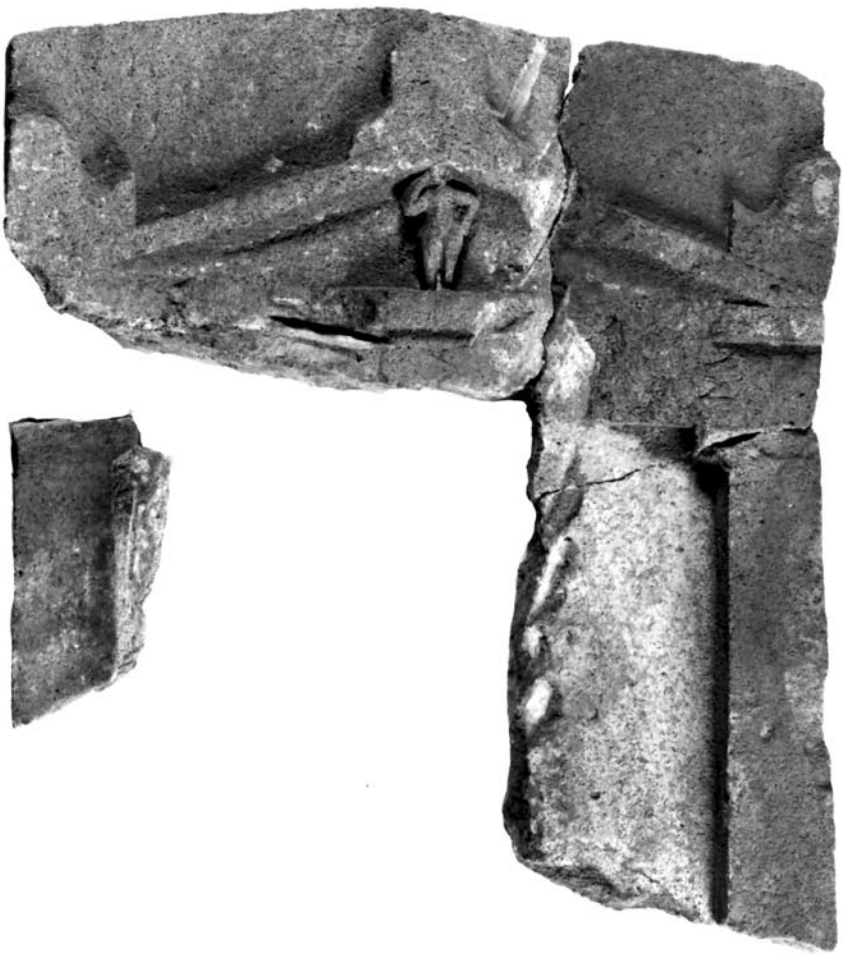

FIGURE 48 *ST IV.5*

5. Fragmentary stele
Inv. 33441. OSE, south sector, Tomb 358.
Poros. Four surviving fragments. H. 0.53; W. 0.50; Th. 0.08.
In the pediment, a nude female figure standing with left arm bent upward and left hand touching the head; the right arm is bent and the hand touches the side (a siren?). A few inscribed letters survive.
Inscription.

[- - -]ισ[.$^{2-3}$.]ς.
Bibliography: unpublished.
Date: Late Hellenistic/Early Roman Imperial?

Index of Personal Names

Ἀΐμναστος	**B.b.1; C.b.1**	Ἱππίας	**A.a.2**
Ἀνθε[- - -]	**A.a.4**	Καφισόδωρος	**ST IV.3**
Ἀνφιώ	**ST I.1**	Νίκων	**B.a.3; ST II.1**
Ἀπολλωνία	**ST IV.1**	Νότιον	**ST I.3**
Ἀριστογίτα	**B.a.2**	Πάϊλλος	**ST III.1**
Ἀριστομένης	**C.a.1**	Παυσ[ανίας?]	**B.a.4**
Ἀρκέσων	**A.a.3**	Περιγένης	**ST I.4**
Ἀρχώ	**ST I.1**	Πυθαγόρας	**C.a.2**
Ἀφροδεισία	**ST I.2**	Στρατονίκα	**ST I.5**
Βιώ	**ST IV.2**	Τίμαρχος	**ST I.6**
Δαφνις	**B.a.1**	Ταρο[ύλας]	**A.b.4**
Ἐπιδ[- - -]	**A.b.3**	Τιμόξ[ενος]	**C.b.2**
Ἐπικρατ[ίδας]	**A.c.2**	Τ[ρι]ετηρίς	**ST IV.4**
Ἑρμάϊος	**A.b.2**	Χαρίξε[νος]	**C.a.3**
Ἡράκλειτος	**A.a.1; A.c.1**		

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[- - -]μβροτος	**A.c.3**
[- - -]δας	**A.b.5**
[- - -]ις	**B.a.5**
[- - -]κλεια	**A.a.6**
[- - -]των	**A.b.6**
[- - -]ων	**A.a.7**

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SECTION III

Boeotian Epigraphy: Beyond Thebes

∵

Tlepolemos in Boeotia

Albert Schachter

Introduction

Enlightenment occasionally comes from unexpected sources. So it is that a chance discovery made by a young British traveller almost 200 years ago clarifies a hitherto unexplained aspect of the history of Tanagra and its surroundings.

An Englishman Abroad

Christopher Wordsworth (1807–1885), nephew of the poet, future Headmaster of Harrow School and subsequently Bishop of Lincoln, was educated at Winchester and Trinity College Cambridge (where his father was Master). He was a prodigious scholar and athlete, and after graduating with high honours in Classics in 1830, was elected a fellow of Trinity College and assistant college tutor. He was highly proficient in Greek and Latin.

In 1832, Wordsworth and several of his friends went on an historical/archaeological tour of Italy and Greece. In the course of his travels, he visited Paestum and Pompeii (where he transcribed graffiti); his tour of Greece began in the northwest, where he was the first to identify the site of Dodona. He worked his way south, coming to Athens by way of Chalkis and Eastern Boeotia. Athens became his base for excursions northwards, to Aigina, and to the Peloponnese. While returning from Delphi in January 1833, Wordsworth and his party were attacked by brigands. He was stabbed in the shoulder, but escaped further injury or worse (a fact that he attributed to the foul weather). During his residence in Greece, he was the first Englishman to be presented to the newly enthroned King Otho. Wordsworth visited many sites and copied numerous inscriptions. His travels resulted in the publication of three books, *Athens and Attica* (London 1836), *Inscriptiones Pompeianae* (London 1837), and *Greece: Pictorial, Descriptive and Historical* (London 1839).[1]

1 Compiled from Brisch 2004, pp. x, xvi–xviii, xxi, 230–232; Overton & Wordsworth 1888, pp. 75–76; Pawley 2010.

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Athens and Attica covers the period from October 1832 to February 1833.[2] What concerns us here comes early in the book and describes Wordsworth's movements on the 9th of October 1832. After setting out from Chalkis, Wordsworth and his party proceed south across the coastal plain, and then:

> [p. 4] We ascend a high rugged hill on the right of the road, and on the western verge of a peninsula formed by two bays. At its summit there is a ruined hellenic city, probably of the heroic age. Its huge polygonal walls remain in their complete circuit. The interior of the city is strewed with broken pottery, and overgrown with wild plants …
>
> [p. 5] We enter the gate of this ancient town. The towers which flanked the old gateway still stand, on your right and left. The groove of the gate, the socket which received its bar, seem to have been recently chiselled. Within the city at the N.W. a large square cistern is hewn in the living calcareous rock: its clean sharp sides seem to have been lately carved to receive a shower, which is expected soon to fall. You advance to the eastern wall: a flight of stone steps invites us to mount from the area of the city to a tower projecting from the wall, in order, you might almost believe, that from its lofty eminence you might look down on the valley, the shore, and see the Euripus now lying below you, and in order that you might assure yourself whether or no the Grecian fleet of Agamemnon is still lingering in the port of Aulis …
>
> The hill on which we stand is called Μεγάλο Βουνὸ [p. 6] στὸ μικρὸ βαθὺ (*The Great Mountain, at the Small Deep*) …
>
> A presumption arises that a city which is now referred in the language of the country to that [p. 7] smaller harbour (στὸ μικρὸ βαθὺ), as is the case with the city in which we now are, is no other than Aulis itself, to which the smaller harbour immediately belonged …
>
> The existence of a profusion of fictile fragments scattered over the area of this city, may have some little weight in identifying it with Aulis, which principally maintained itself in later times by its produce of pottery. I pick

2 Wordsworth 1836. Wordsworth's *Athens and Attica* was first published in 1836, and was reprinted—and re-edited—several times in his lifetime. The first and second (1837) editions were entitled *Athens and Attica: Journal of a Residence There*; the third (1855) and fourth (1869) were called *Athens and Attica: Notes of a Tour*. Gerald Brisch (2004), the editor of a re-edition based on Wordsworth 1836, sets the author in his context and gives useful biographical details. The quotation here is taken from the first edition, as are further references to the book.

> up here the handle of a lamp among these broken relics of its former commerce: it is inscribed with the name ΤΛΕΓΟΛΕΜΟ (*of Tlepolemos*). Tlepolemos was perhaps the manufacturer at Aulis from whose fabric it issued …
>
> [p. 8] We meet a shepherd of the country at the descent on the S.E. side of this mountain.[3]

Wordsworth's discovery of the potsherd—whether or not it was from a lamp is of course not certain—went unremarked until S.C. Bakhuizen quoted the passage in 1970.[4] The passage was subsequently quoted by D.W. Roller, but without comment.[5] To put it mildly, Wordsworth's report is not very promising. The object is missing; there is no illustration; we do not know anything about the fabric. As far as the text is concerned, the name would appear to have been incised—a graffito—rather than painted on. And yet the document is not without interest, and it should be possible, without stretching the argument beyond its breaking point, to find a context for it. There may not be much to go on, but at least there is a transcription and a findspot.

The Transcription

Christopher Wordsworth was a trained classicist, and had already had some experience in dealing with Greek inscriptions. To judge from his transcription of other inscriptions, we can assume that he copied this text accurately. He was meticulous in copying out what he saw on the stone: he transcribes letter forms as they occur. See, for example, the texts on pages 215, 229, 257, and 273 of the first edition, and the note at the foot of page xvii of the second, where he renders the early Attic *L*. We can therefore safely assume that ΤΛΕΓΟΛΕΜΟ is an accurate transcription.[6]

---

3 Wordsworth 1836, pp. 4–6 (Brisch [2004], pp. 2–4). Wordsworth's party (there were six in all) included Richard Monckton Milnes (later first Lord Houghton), who recorded this visit briefly: "Each hill on the shore has perhaps its Palaeocastrum, the most extensive, consisting of wall, cisterns, towers, & being on Megalovouno, the central height on the side opposite Euboia" (Milnes [1834], p. 115).

4 Bakhuizen 1970, pp. 30–31, and note 76 to page 92, where Bakhuizen remarks (p. 94): "This may be a valuable piece of information. But I was unable to evaluate it. I could not find references to a Tlepolemos that were applicable to the Kástro near Aulis."

5 Roller 1988, pp. 108–111.

6 I should note that ΤΛΕΓΟΛΕΜΟ of the first and second editions (see above, note 2) becomes

Wordsworth transcribed the lambda in its Attic-Ionic form—Λ—rather than the epichoric *L*. But he recognized that the epsilon stands for ει or η, and the omicron for ου or ω. In the latter case, ου makes better sense than ω, as it is the last letter in the name. Therefore, the name transcribed as ΤΛΕΓΟΛΕΜΟ represents Τλε̄πολέμο̄, and is the epichoric version of Τληπολέμου.

Although the lambda is definitely an Attic-Ionic form (the other letters could be either Attic-Ionic or epichoric), the phonological values of the first epsilon and the second omicron are epichoric. It is a hybrid text, but this is not unusual.[7] The epichoric script went out of use in Boeotia at some time during the first half of the fourth century BC.[8] The change from epichoric to Attic-Ionic script in Boeotia—whatever its motivation—would not have happened overnight. It was a process that began, presumably, at an official level, and gradually spread both across the land and through the social scale. Elements of the epichoric script would have persisted longest in unofficial documents, such as ours, which perhaps belongs nearer to the end than to the beginning of the process.

The Find-spot: Megálo Vounó

Megálo Vounó (288 m.) overlooks, from the west, the northern half of the valley containing the settlement of Aulis and the sanctuary of Artemis Aulideia.[9] It rises to the south of the Euripos.[10] On its summit is a walled structure, the Kastro, which measures 200 metres from west to east, and from 60 to 100 metres from north to south. Inside are what appear to be foundations of barracks,

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ΤΛΕΠΟΛΕΜΟ in subsequent ones, including Brisch 2004, p. 4, which otherwise follows the text and title of the first edition.

7 See for example the public documents *IG* VII 2427 (a list of names from Thebes) and *I.Thespiai* 38–39 (sanctuary inventories from Thespiai), and the tombstones *SEG* LIII 463 (cf. *SEG* LV 556) from Orchomenos and *IG* VII 1154 from Tanagra. The last of these, the tomb of Κλιάρχα, is written ΚΛΙΑΡΧΑ. I owe this reference to the unpublished dissertation of Fabienne Marchand, who dates the text "Milieu Ve s.–milieu IVe s." (her no. 56). It is dated "? iv BC" in *LGPN* IIIB. I am grateful to Dr. Marchand for permitting me to cite her thesis. With regard to the first two texts, see Vottéro 1996, pp. 161–164 (*IG* VII 2427, cf. *SEG* XLVII 513) and 166–170 (*I.Thespiai* 38–39).

8 As Guy Vottéro prudently concludes: Vottéro 1996, pp. 157–181, esp. p. 180.

9 Bakhuizen 1970, pp. 152–156; Farinetti 2011, p. 216, 390 no. 64, and 379 fig. 1.

10 Bakhuizen 1970, pp. vii–viii and figure 1; 42–65. On the term Euripos, see Bakhuizen 1970, p. 149 note 28. See Farinetti 2011, p. 390 no. 64.

and, in the northwest corner, the cistern which Wordsworth described.[11] Here, within the walls of the Kastro, Wordsworth picked up the "handle of a lamp."

Almost all those who visited or wrote about the Kastro before Bakhuizen regarded it as a city or as part of one. At various times it has been identified with Mykalessos,[12] Hyria,[13] and Aulis.[14] S.C. Bakhuizen, who conducted a close survey of the structure, concluded that it was not a settlement but rather a fortress, and this is now the generally accepted view.[15] From the Kastro on Megálo Vounó not only the Euripos on the north, but also large stretches of the Euboian Strait to the south are visible. It is an excellent vantage point from which to survey maritime traffic.

The Kastro adjoins the eastern end of a long fortification wall—the Anaforitis Wall—which runs westward across the Anaforitis Pass (which carries the modern highway between Thebes and Chalkis), and then bends north to end on the slopes of Mt. Ktípas, ancient Messapion. Bakhuizen was of the opinion that wall and Kastro were contemporary, and were erected late in the fourth century BC.[16] Olivier Picard agrees with Bakhuizen that the archaeological data suggest a date in the last third of the fourth century, but he disagrees with Bakhuizen's attribution of the fortifications to Polemaios.[17]

J.M. Fossey, in a brief survey of the site, suggested that the Kastro itself could have been built earlier, and that the Anaforitis system might belong to the period of the Theban hegemony. He also suggested—but without offering any supporting evidence for this either—that there might have been a predecessor

11 Bakhuizen 1970, pp. 43–44, fig. 10 on p. 42.

12 Gell 1819, p. 133; Leake 1835, pp. 252–252 and cf. 264; Spratt 1847, p. 241; Lolling 1989, pp. 513–516 = Urbaedeker 23–26. Gell actually identified the Kastro as either part of Mykalessos or the *peribolos* of the temple of Demeter Mykalessia; earlier on (Gell [1819], p. 130) he identified as Mykalessos remains about three-and-a-half hours from Thebes, and ten minutes before reaching what is clearly the Rhitsona junction. For the location of Mykalessos (near Rhitsona), see Farinetti 2011, p. 220 & 388.

13 Ulrichs 1863, pp. 42–44; Bursian 1862, pp. 217–218; Ross 1848, p. 108 note 8; Frazer 1898, pp. 66–68; Scranton 1941, pp. 72–73. No satisfactory identification of the site of Hyria has been made, although several have been proposed. My own view is that Homeric/legendary Hyria and historical Hysiai were one and the same place, but the elucidation of this must await a later occasion.

14 Wordsworth 1836, p. 6; Blegen 1949; Threpsiades 1965, p. 50 and 1966, p. 48. The sanctuary of Artemis and surrounding buildings were excavated by J. Threpsiades—description and bibliography in Bakhuizen 1970, pp. 152–156.

15 Bakhuizen 1970, p. 91.

16 Bakhuizen 1970, pp. 92–95.

17 Picard 1979, p. 256.

to the Kastro, "a post of some sort on Megálo Vounó," which would have disappeared when the large fort was built.[18] R.L. Scranton, for his part, claimed to have detected four different styles of masonry in the Kastro.[19]

Several visitors to the site report the presence of potsherds and tiles, but only Carl Blegen ventured a date: "A good many Hellenistic and Roman potsherds may be seen on the surface of the ground inside the citadel. Far more numerous are fragments of tiles of Hellenistic types. No pottery of more ancient date was observed during a visit to the spot on September 6, 1946."[20]

Christopher Wordsworth's discovery, which has been lying unnoticed since its first publication, casts a new light on the structure on top of Megálo Vounó, for it—or rather an early stage of it or even a predecessor—must belong to the first half of the fourth century BC, if not earlier.

In fact, there must have been a military post on the top of Megálo Vounó well before this. In 431, the Thebans took under their protection and within their walls the populations of several small unwalled communities, including Aulis.[21] Aulis was, as a result, more or less deserted from then on. But it is inconceivable that the Thebans would have left this vulnerable part of their territory completely unprotected, and it is probably correct to assume that the Megálo Vounó fortress, or some forerunner, acted as a post to give early warning of any hostile movement in the area, particularly at sea. There were at least two occasions when it might have served the Thebans well. The first was in the summer of 413, when a force of Thracian mercenaries landed one evening, and on the next morning sacked Mykalessos, some 8 km inland.[22] The speedy response of Theban forces—they caught up with the Thracians en route to the sea with their loot—can best be explained if lookouts at Megálo Vounó had seen the Thracians arrive and sent news to Thebes overnight.[23] Similarly, in

18 Fossey 1992, pp. 120–122.

19 Scranton 1941, pp. 145–147, and 169, 176, 184 (first of four walls), 180 (fourth wall). He lists them under "Hyria."

20 Blegen 1949, p. 40. Blegen's report has influenced later scholars, cf. Farinetti 2011, p. 390 no. 64.

21 *Hell. Oxy.* 20.3 (436–441 Chambers).

22 Thuc. 7.29–30.

23 Compare the time it took Gell, presumably on horseback, to get from Thebes to the Rhitsona crossroad, that is, three hours at least (Gell [1819], p. 130). Even assuming that a messenger in 413 would have run or ridden posthaste, it would probably have taken an hour or more to reach Thebes. To this must be added the time taken in alerting the Thebans and mustering them, and the final dash back to Mykalessos, by which time, if the alarm had not been raised until after the raid began, the Thracians would have been well away and safely at sea.

396, when Agesilaos tried to sacrifice at Aulis in emulation of Agamemnon on the eve of his expedition to Asia, he was interrupted by the arrival of a Theban force and made to abandon his attempt.[24] Here too, advance notice must have been given to the Thebans, and the post on the top of Megálo Vounó seems a likely source.

Tlepolemos A: General[25]

Christopher Wordsworth took the name Tlepolemos to be that of a person. This is certainly not impossible, and indeed there is another possible example in Boeotia itself.[26] There is, however, an alternative, namely that this Tlepolemos is divine or heroic.

The form Τλε̄πολέμō—"(property) of Tlepolemos" is an appropriate way of signifying that the object on which the name is incised is the property of a deity. There are numerous examples of this,[27] certainly enough to justify taking our document as evidence for the existence of a cult of Tlepolemos.

24 Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.3–4; Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 6.4–6.

25 Excellent analysis of the sources in Wüst 1937 and Fowler 2013, pp. 324–326.

26 Ulrichs 1863, p. 105 notes that when he visited the field of Leuktra and neighbouring Parapoungia, "Ebendaselbst ist in der Kirche der heiligen Paraskeue ein Stein mit dem Namen Τληπτόλεμος in sehr alter Schrift eingemauert." H.G. Lolling visited the site and copied the text twice. On the first occasion he read ṬLEΓTOLEM Τλε(ι)πτόλεμ[ος] (Roehl, *IGA* 249); on the second he read // LEΓTOLEM///, which led Dittenberger to restore it as [K]λειπτόλεμος (*IG* VII 1930), and it is given thus in *LGPN* IIIB. Paul Roesch, *I.Thespiai* 643, restored Ṭλεπτόλεμ[ος]. Piteros 2008, p. 603 cites Ulrichs (transcribing the name as Τληπόλεμος) and notes that the text was not published in *IG* VII. This is an understandable slip, given Dittenberger's restoration. The report of Piteros is abstracted in *BÉ* (2010) no. 296 ("un cippe beaucoup plus ancien [sans doute en caractères épichoriques] Τληπτόλεμος"). Note that the "Stein" of Ulrichs and "lapis" of Dittenberger becomes an "επιτύμβιο βωμό η στήλη" in Piteros, a "bloc" in *I.Thespiai*, and a "cippe" in the *BÉ*. The last three descriptions are misleading in that they say more about the stone than can be deduced from the evidence. Τληπτόλεμος, as opposed to Τληπόλεμος (or Τλαπόλεμος, and its Attic variant Τλημπόλεμος), would appear to be a *hapax*, so perhaps Dittenberger's restoration is to be preferred. Τληπόλεμος as a proper name is not uncommon in Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions, but there are at least nine examples ranging from late in the sixth century to the second half of the fourth, quite apart from the Attic Τλημπόλεμος. See *LGPN* II, IV, V s.v. Τληπόλεμος, and IIIB s.v. Τλαπόλεμος. See also Traill 2007 nos. 892450–892490 for the Athenians.

27 See for example, Lazzarini 1976, pp. 121–122 and 241–250 (nos. 462–536). It is possible that the name was preceded by the definite article. It is, however, more common for the divine or heroic name in the genitive to stand alone.

Tlepolemos B: Tlepolemos at Rhodes

The legendary Tlepolemos was one of many sons of Herakles. He stands out from the others on two counts. First, he killed—either by accident or design—the aged Likymnios, illegitimate brother of Alkmene and therefore uncle of Herakles. There are different versions as to where this incident took place (Argos, Tiryns, or Thebes) but the result is straightforward. Tlepolemos fled in fear of the wrath of Herakles' other sons and grandsons. In the time frame of mythology, this would have happened before the "Return of the Herakleidai."[28]

Tlepolemos's second claim to fame is as oikist of Rhodes (or at least of the three main cities of Rhodes), to which he is said to have fled. In the Homeric Catalogue of the Ships (*Iliad* 2.653–669), he leads the Rhodian contingent of nine vessels. Homer cites the killing of Likymnios as the cause of Tlepolemos's founding of Rhodes. Scholars are divided as to the relative date of the Rhodian entry in the Catalogue. Tlepolemos meets his death in Book 5 of the *Iliad* at the hands of Sarpedon.[29] In *Olympian* 7, written to honour the boxer Diagoras of Rhodes on the occasion of his victory in 464 BC, Pindar tells the story of the founder of Rhodes. It is basically the same as Homer's version, although much elaborated.[30]

Whereas in Homer, Tlepolemos is son of Herakles and Astyocheia of Ephyre—wherever it was[31]—Pindar follows "Hesiod" (fr. 232M – W) and Simonides (fr. 554 *PMG*) in naming as his mother Astydameia, daughter of Ormenos and descendant of Amyntor.[32] Ormenos has connections to Pagasai in Thessaly and Eleon in Boeotia (which is not far from Aulis).[33] It is his son Amyntor—original owner of Odysseus's boar's-tusk helmet—who lived at Eleon. The genealogy is confused but the general idea is of a family based both in Thessaly and eastern Boeotia.

Pindar tells us also that Tlepolemos was commemorated in Rhodes by a festival that included athletic contests. The scholiasts' references to Tlepolemeia at

28 See Malkin 1994, pp. 36–37.

29 For the Rhodian contingent, see Kirk 1985, pp. 224–227. For the death of Tlepolemos, Hom. *Il.* 5.627–659.

30 Pind. *Ol.* 7.20–33, 77–80.

31 There were various places, mostly in central and northern Greece, called Ephyre: see Philippson 1909.

32 Cf. West 1985, p. 114 and note 192.

33 West 1985, p. 114 for references; Hom. *Il.* 10.266. For a likely location of Eleon, see Farinetti 2011, p. 220 and 386 nos. 45–48.

Rhodes[34] are confirmed by *Syll.*[3] 1067, a list of victories of the runner Onasikles (ca. mid 2nd century BC) which includes (ll. 8–9) παῖδας καὶ ἐφήβους Τλαπολέμεια | στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον. Tlepolemos, therefore, was not only a figure of legend in Rhodes, but also the recipient of cult.[35]

Tlepolemos C: Tlepolemos in Boeotia I, the Legend[36]

Tlepolemos, finally, turns up briefly and unexpectedly in one of the traditions concerning the foundation of Tanagra.[37] There are various versions of the story, all concerning Poimandros, founder of the polis, whose ancestry may have been traced by the Hesiodic catalogue (although, naturally, the crucial link is missing).[38] The earliest author to mention Poimandros by name is Aristophanes of Boeotia;[39] according to him, while Poimandros was digging a ditch around his new polis (Poimandria, i.e. Tanagra), his son Ephippos said that he would have no trouble in jumping over it. Poimandros forbade him to do so, but Ephippos stepped across it anyway, and Poimandros killed him. Again the source runs out at the critical point, so we do not know how much Aristophanes knew of the story as told by Plutarch in *Aitia Hellenika* 37 (299C–E), which is worth quoting in full:[40]

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34 Schol. *Ol.* 7.141–145; note, for example, 141c (θυσίαι γὰρ αὐτῷ διάφοροι γίνονται καὶ ἀγῶνες τελοῦνται), 145 (ἐπεί φασιν ὅτι ἀγὼν ἐκεῖ ἄγεται Τληπολέμεια), 146b (ἐν γὰρ Ῥόδῳ ἄγεται τὰ Τληπολέμια).

35 See also Schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 911. The painter and sculptor Protogenes (late fourth century BC), who spent much of his career in Rhodes, created a statue of Tlepolemos: Plin. *HN* 35.37 (106). On Protogenes, see Rumpf 1957.

36 A not very satisfactory treatment of the literary sources in Schachter 1994, pp. 63–64.

37 Prompting Halliday 1928, p. 163 to comment: "What he is doing in Boeotia is obscure." Tlepolemos gets short shrift in the surveys of Tanagran mythology by Roller 1979 and Jaillard 2007. He is at least mentioned by the editors of a recent commentary on the *Aitia Hellenika*: Nouilhan et al. 1999, pp. 298–299, and by Boulogne 2002, p. 416 note 197.

38 Hes. fr. 251(a) M–W ll. 10–11. The text goes as far as Chairesilaos son of Iasos and his unnamed bride. In Paus. 9.20.1, Poimandros is son of Chairesilaos son of Iasos, son of Eleuther, son of Apollo and Aithousa daughter of Poseidon.

39 F 1A Fowler = *BNJ* 379 F1 bis = Mette 379 F 2bis = *P.Oxy.* 2463 ll. 14–32. Cf. Schachter 2003, pp. 61–62.

40 Διὰ τί Ταναγραίοις πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔστιν Ἀχίλλειον, τόπος οὕτω προσαγορευόμενος; ἔχθρα γὰρ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ φιλία λέγεται γεγονέναι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἁρπάσαντι μὲν τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Ποιμάνδρου Στρατονίκην, ἀποκτείναντι δ' υἱὸν Ἐφίππου Ἀκέστορα. Ποίμανδρος τοίνυν ὁ Ἐφίππου

[Question:] "Why is there a place called the Achilleion, outside the city at Tanagra? For it is said that Achilles was hostile rather than friendly to the city, inasmuch as he had abducted Stratonike mother of Poimandros, and killed Akestor son of Ephippos."

[Explanation:] "Well, Poimandros, the father of Ephippos, when the land of Tanagra was still settled in villages, was being besieged at a place called Stephon by the Achaians, because of his unwillingness to join their expedition; he abandoned that place at night and fortified Poimandria. Polykrithos the master builder, who was present, disparaged and made fun of his work, and leapt over the ditch. Poimandros was furious, and he rushed to hurl a huge stone at him (this stone had been there unnoticed for ages, covering sacred objects used in nocturnal rituals).[41] Poimandros, not knowing what it was, heaved it up and threw it: he missed Polykrithos, but killed his son Leukippos. Now, according to the law, he was obliged to leave Boeotia and sit as a suppliant in a foreign land. But this was not very easy, because of the Achaian siege of the Tanagrike. So he sent his son Ephippos to supplicate Achilles. He brought him, having also persuaded **Tlepolemos son of Herakles**[42] and Peneleos son of Hippalkmos, all of whom were related; Poimandros was escorted by them to Chalkis, and,

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πατήρ, ἔτι τῆς Ταναγρικῆς κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένης, ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στέφοντι πολιορκούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι συστρατεύειν, ἐξέλιπε τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο νύκτωρ καὶ τὴν Ποιμανδρίαν ἐτείχισε. παρὼν δὲ Πολύκριθος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων διαφαυλίζων τὰ ἔργα καὶ καταγελῶν ὑπερήλατο τὴν τάφρον. ὀργισθεὶς δ' ὁ Ποίμανδρος ὥρμησε λίθον ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτῷ μέγαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτόθι κεκρυμμένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ, νυκτελίοις ἱεροῖς ἐπικείμενος· τοῦτον ἀνασπάσας ὑπ' ἀγνοίας ὁ Ποίμανδρος ἔβαλε, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Πολυκρίθου διήμαρτε, Λεύκιππον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔδει μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας μεταστῆναι, ἐφέστιον καὶ ἱκέτην ξένον γενόμενον· οὐκ ἦν δὲ ῥᾴδιον, ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. ἔπεμψεν οὖν Ἔφιππον τὸν υἱὸν Ἀχιλλέως δεησόμενον. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον εἰσάγει πείσας καὶ Τληπόλεμον τὸν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πηνελέων τὸν Ἱππάλκμου, συγγενεῖς ἅπαντας αὐτῶν ὄντας. ὑφ' ὧν ὁ Ποίμανδρος εἰς Χαλκίδα συνεκπεμφθεὶς καὶ καθαρθεὶς παρ' Ἐλεφήνορι τὸν φόνον ἐτίμησε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τεμένη πᾶσιν ἐξεῖλεν, ὧν τὸ Ἀχιλλέως καὶ τοὔνομα διατετήρηκεν. (Text as in Boulogne [2002]).

41 Fowler 2013, p. 498 n. 15 prefers Wyttenbach's emendation ἀποκείμενος for the mss. ἐπικείμενος, which would give "laid aside for nocturnal rites". He also points out that νυκτελίοις ἱεροῖς ἀποκείμενος/ἐπικείμενος is taken from a dactylic hexameter, and wonders whether all this originates with Rhianos (see below).

42 Wüst 1937, p. 1614 sets this episode into the mythical time frame thus: "Nach dem Tod des Herakles weilte T. mit den übrigen Herakliden zunächst bei dem König Keyx von Trachis. In dieser Zeit wäre die Plut. Quaest. Gr. 37 erwähnte Schlichtung eines lokalen Streits in Tanagra durch T. und andere griechischen Helden zu verweisen."

having been purified of his homicide by Elephenor, he honoured the men and assigned temene to them all, of which the *temenos* of Achilles has retained its name."[43]

43 There are a number of problems about this piece, both textual and interpretative. These are some:

(1) ἀποκτείναντι δὲ υἱὸν Ἐφίππου Ἀκέστορα: Some editors delete Ἐφίππου, thereby making Akestor a son of Poimandros. Since Akestor is not otherwise known, either reading is possible. If he was Poimandros' son he would be a fourth to add to the list in Rhianos (see the next note). In that case, he would have been the odd man out, for all the other three have names ending in -ιππος. I marginally prefer the mss. reading, if only because the next sentence picks up the reference to Ephippos.

(2) Στέφων and Ποιμανδρία: The story begins with Poimandros being besieged by the Achaians ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Στέφοντι, the territory of Tanagra being at the time a collection of villages. Στέφων would presumably have been a small, fortified place, the name being a participial form of στέφειν.—Compare the Tanagran decree on the transfer of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (late third or early second century BC) from outside the city to a site within its walls, where, in response to a consultation, Apollo ordains that they should "θιὰς προFαστίδας στεφάνυ δέκεσθη …" (l. 7), and cf. l. 8–10 (ὅπως ὦν κατασκευ|ασθείη τὸ ἰαρὸν τᾶς Δάματρος ἐν πόλι ὅτι κάλλιστον ἐν τῦ τόπυ ἐν ὗ κα | φήνητη …). See Migeotte 1992, pp. 75–81, no. 28, and 77 note 91, on the meaning of στεφάνυ δέκεσθη.—Fossey 1988, p. 56, cited by Farinetti 2011, p. 385, derives the name from στέφων (sic) in Hesychios, which is defined as ὑψηλός, ἀπόκρημνος. But Hesychios's gloss is on the word στεφών, oxytone. Elsewhere he glosses στεφέα as στεφῶνες. On morphological grounds therefore, Στέφων in the Tanagraia cannot be derived from στεφών, for if it were, we would expect ἐν τῷ Στεφῶνι, not Στέφοντι.—Poimandria was or became the akropolis of Tanagra: see the next point.

(3) The stone concealing sacred objects for nocturnal rites: see Schachter 1981, p. 185. The theatre at Tanagra was at the upper end of the walled city, and near it no doubt was the sanctuary of Dionysos (Paus. 9.22.2 compliments the Tanagrans for keeping their sanctuaries and private buildings separate), and so it is probably safe to conclude that the Poimandria = the akropolis of the city. See Bintliff et al. 2004–2005, p. 603 fig. 47, for the urban plan of Tanagra.

(4) συγγενεῖς ἅπαντας αὐτῶν ὄντας: "all of them were related," thus most mss. One reads αὐτῷ, "all being related to him" (that is, I suppose, to Poimandros). As Halliday 1928, p. 163 puts it, the passage raises "difficulties, which it would have taxed the genealogical lore of the Emperor Tiberius to solve." He wisely concludes "that we are involved in the results of a Boeotian manipulation of the genealogies, of which we now possess but scattered hints." It is possible—for what it is worth—to stitch together a family tree which would trace Achilles, Peneleos, Tlepolemos, and Poimandros, all back to Poseidon:

Here the victim is not Ephippos, as in Aristophanes, but another of Poimandros's sons, Leukippos.[44]

The word τέμενος has both a secular and a sacred meaning, but even though Plutarch refers to the honorands as τοὺς ἄνδρας, they are not real people, but heroes. In reality, therefore, as opposed to myth, these τεμένη were sacred enclosures. The apparently unmotivated presence of Tlepolemos can now be explained, thanks to Christopher Wordsworth's chance discovery: Tlepolemos is there because he had a sanctuary overlooking Aulis, and anybody who wanted to travel from Tanagra to Chalkis overland would have had to pass by Aulis.

Tlepolemos D: Tlepolemos in Boeotia II, the Cult and Its Origins

The next step is to try to explain how a cult of Tlepolemos came to be established on the hill above Aulis. There is a possible—perhaps even a probable—solution, which I venture to put forward here.

The connection, it seems to me, must be between Tlepolemos as oikist of Rhodes and Tlepolemos as a son of Herakles, the symbol *par excellence* of Theban military aspirations. In other words, the cult of Tlepolemos on Boeotian soil should reflect a real connection between Rhodes and Boeotia, specifically Thebes, because, as I have pointed out elsewhere, Aulis belonged to Thebes until some time in the fourth century BC.[45]

– Achilles (combining Akousilaos, *FGrH* 2 F 21, Hes. fr. 265 M.-W., and others): Poseidon + Pero > Asopos > Aigina > Aiakos > Peleus > Achilles;
– Peneleos (combining Hellanikos, *FGrH* 4 F 51, Corinna fr. 658 *PMG*, and Diod. Sic. 4.67.7): Poseidon > Arne > Boiotos > Hippalkimos (sic) > Peneleos;
– Tlepolemos (combining Hes. fr. 43a 58 M.-W. and *Akousilaos, *FGrH* 2 F 44): Poseidon + Mestra > Eurypylos > Ormenos > Pheres > Amyntor > Astydameia + Herakles > Tlepolemos;
– Poimandros (Paus. 9.20.1 and perhaps Hes. fr. 251a 10–11 M.-W.): Poseidon > Aithousa + Apollo > Eleuther > Iasios > Chairesilaos > Poimandros.
– On the mutual relationship of these heroes, see too Boulogne 2002, p. 416 note 199.

(5) Finally, where is Agamemnon while all this is going on?

44 Rhianos, *BNJ* 265 F54a = fr. 715 *SH* (on the same papyrus which cites Aristophanes of Boeotia—see above), gives Poimandros three sons (A[.]ippos, Ephippos, and Leukippos) and two daughters (Rhexipyle and Archeptoleme). Here Stratonike is his wife, not his mother, as in Plutarch.

45 Schachter 2003, pp. 52–54 and 59.

This brings us to the so-called Theban Hegemony, specifically the period when the Thebans, under the leadership of Epameinondas and Pelopidas, tried to extend their influence across the Aegean. We know of two specific occasions concerned with this initiative. There may have been others, of course, but the record is very scanty.

In 367, Pelopidas went to Susa and succeeded in gaining the King's support over the claims of rival delegates. In real terms this seems to have come to nothing, as the other Greek states refused to accept Theban leadership.[46] How this affected their relations with the King in the long term is not certain. In 355 we find Pammenes leading a force of 5,000 off to fight for the satrap Artabazos against the King, although admittedly by this time the King was Artaxerxes III Ochos rather than Artaxerxes II.[47] A few years later, however, in 351 BC, the Thebans succeeded in getting a grant of 300 talents from the King, at the height of the Third Sacred War.[48] So it would appear that relations were not seriously affected, one way or the other.

Three years after Pelopidas' mission to Sousa, in the summer of 364,[49] Epameinondas set off at the head of a sizeable fleet of triremes for Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantion. En route he encountered and frightened off an Athenian fleet sent to intercept him, and ἰδίας τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐποίησεν, which seems to mean—although there is considerable doubt about it[50]—that he won them over to the Theban cause.[51] The fleet also called in at Knidos, where Epamei-

46 Buckler 1980, pp. 151–160, esp. 158–160; Roy 1994, pp. 196–197.

47 Diod. Sic. 16.34.1–2. On this episode see Buckler 2008a and Schachter (forthcoming).

48 Diod. Sic. 16.40.1. See Schachter (forthcoming).

49 For the date, see Stylianou 1998, pp. 452–455.

50 For references to conflicting views, see Buckler 2008b, p. 174 and 200–202, Stylianou 1998, pp. 496–497. The case for a systematic Theban attempt at establishing naval supremacy in the Aegean has been made anew by Gartland 2013, with specific reference to Thebes' electrum coinage.

51 Cf. Isoc. 5.53, referring to the expedition: εἰς Βυζάντιον δὲ τριήρεις ἐξέπεμπον. Certainly Byzantion was still closely connected with the Thebans over a decade later, being one of the contributors to a fund to help finance Theban participation in the Third Sacred War: *IG* VII 2418; see Rhodes and Osborne 2003, pp. 268–271, no. 57.

Plutarch's comment on the ultimate failure of Epameinondas' naval campaign (Plut. *Vit. Phil.* 14.3: Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν … ἄπρακτον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ τῶν νησῶν ἀπελθεῖν ἑκουσίως) should be seen in the context of subsequent events. Pelopidas's unexpected death in 364 changed things radically. Epameinondas lost his closest associate, and no doubt a certain amount of influence over the Thebans. Thereafter the Thebans devoted themselves to mainland Greece.

nondas was granted *proxenia* and the right to sail into and out of the harbour,[52] and, it would appear, Herakleia Pontike.[53]

We hear no more about the Thebans' maritime adventures, at least in eastern waters, but the chance discovery of the Knidian proxeny decree should warn us that Epameinondas might have accomplished more than the scanty literary evidence suggests. It goes without saying that this expedition did not simply happen. Not only had a fleet to be put together, but also it is not credible that Epameinondas would have sailed off into the blue without having obtained some previous guarantee of a friendly welcome. The expedition must have been preceded by diplomatic approaches to at least three important Greek states in the East.

Our principal source, Diodoros 15.78.4–79.2, sketches out what happened: Epameinondas, at the Theban assembly, urged his fellow citizens to extend their hegemony on sea as well as land. His arguments convinced the Thebans to do so, and "straightway the demos decreed that one hundred triremes should be built, with docking facilities for each, and that they should urge the Rhodians and Chians and Byzantines to help their undertaking." As far as the building of the fleet is concerned, it is generally accepted that the Thebans would not have been able to afford the cost involved, and it is assumed both that the funds came from the Persian King and that they were one result of Pelopidas's mission in 367.[54] Yet even those who hold this opinion concede there is no evidence, direct or indirect, to support it.[55] Now, it may be true that, as the saying goes, "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence," and that Persian money did find its way to Thebes. There is, however, a very good chance that there were other—or additional—sources of revenue.

The scholarly controversy over the meaning of ἰδίας τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐποίησεν has diverted attention from the second part of the Theban decree, which is at least equally important: (ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο) Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Χίους καὶ Βυζαντίους προτρέπεσθαι βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.[56] One must ask precisely how these cities were to "help" the Thebans' enterprises. On the whole the expression seems to be taken as a request for some kind of expression of good will, but it would also be perfectly acceptable to give βοηθῆσαι a more concrete meaning, namely "to contribute financially,"[57] in which case the three cities

52 Buckler 2008c.

53 Just. *Epit.* 16.4.3.

54 Buckler 1980, p. 161; Buckler 2008b, p. 182; Roy 1994, p. 201.

55 A point made forcefully by Stylianou 1998, p. 495.

56 Diod. Sic. 15.79.1.

57 Robert 1967, p. 34. He refers to an inscription from the Amphiareion (late fourth, early third

(Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantion) would have had a real, financial, stake in the construction of the Theban fleet. This would then have been a joint venture rather than a one-sided undertaking by the Thebans alone.[58]

Whether or not it happened this way, there would at the very least have been negotiations and some kind of agreement, if not an actual alliance, made before the fleet was built and set sail. These diplomatic manoeuvres seem to have been cemented by a symbolic exchange of cults, of which some traces survive. How better to interpret the fourth-century BC stele on Chios, inscribed Δήμητρος | Βοιωτάης, than as the boundary marker of a *temenos* devoted to the "Boeotian" Demeter? She, of course, was the poliouchos of Thebes.[59] This important document is missed by historians of the period.[60]

Similarly, I venture to suggest that the Thebans adopted the founding hero of Rhodes, Tlepolemos son of Herakles, and incorporated him into their pantheon.[61] Perhaps this is behind pseudo-Apollodoros 2.4.6, according to which Likymnios accompanied Amphitryon and Alkmene to Thebes, and was given Amphitryon's sister Perimede to wife (and presumably returned to the Pelo-

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century), *I.Oropos* 302, ll. 13–14 (τοὺς προελομέ|νους εἰς τὸν τειχισμὸν τῆς πόλεως βοηθῆσαι). Compare also the decree for Philippides of Kephale (283/282 BC), *IG* II² 657, ll. 33–34 (παρακαλῶν τὸν βασιλέα βοηθ|εῖν καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ σίτωι).

58 Would this perhaps explain *IG* VII 2408, a Boeotian proxeny decree for a Byzantine, which Paul Roesch ([1984], pp. 47–48) (*Teiresias* E.85.28) dated ca. 365 BC? Cf. Knoepfler 1978, pp. 387–392 (*SEG* XXVIII 465), who proposed restoring a fragmentary stoichedon text from Thebes as a federal proxeny decree for a Rhodian. The original editor of the text (Roesch [1970], pp. 140–144, no. 1) rejected this interpretation (*Teiresias* E.78.29); it is noted without comment in *BÉ* 79.207.

59 Originally published by Stephanou 1958, pp. 7–9 (*SEG* XVII 396); re-edited by Graf 1985, p. 435 *ICh*. 13. The connection is suggested in Schachter 1981, p. 168; see also the next note. For Demeter as *poliouchos* of Thebes: Schachter 1981, p. 167. Perhaps a similar motive lies behind the later inscription from Koroneia, with a dedication to Demeter Krisaia Epidamos: *IG* VII 3213; cf. Schachter 1981, p. 155.

60 Although its importance did not escape Fritz Graf: "Sonderbar is die Epiklese Βοιωτάη, in ionisch verständlicher Schreibung für Βοιωταίη. Im Hintergrund mag thebanischen Anspruch stehen aus den Jahren der thebanischen Hegemonie, ist doch Demeter – freilich die Thesmophoros – Hauptgöttin der thebanischen Akropolis", Graf 1985, pp. 69–70, and cf. 49.

61 Hepworth 1989 has argued that the Theban coins with the beginning of the name of Epameinondas and a rose in the field commemorate the voyage of the fleet to Rhodes, but given the problems and resentment which Epameinondas and Pelopidas faced from their fellow citizens (see Buckler [1980], pp. 130–150), is it likely that anything so blatant would have been tolerated?

ponnese, where he was duly killed by Tlepolemos: 2.8.2); on the other hand, a scholiast to Pindar cites unnamed authorities for the tradition that Tlepolemos's mother was Antigone.[62]

The location of a sanctuary of Tlepolemos, overlooking Aulis, is more than symbolically important, for Aulis was not only the most famous port in Boeotia (and Greece for that matter), but it was, in all likelihood, also the place where the Theban fleet was brought together.[63] At the time, as we have seen, Aulis still belonged to Thebes. It was not until some time later—perhaps only a matter of a few years—that the Thebans ceded to Tanagra the territory that included Aulis and the Tetrakomia.[64]

As for Byzantion, it is possible that the cult of Achilles in Tanagra came from there, for the worship of Achilles was widespread in the region stretching from the Troad to the Black Sea, where he was worshipped as Pontarches, which, in the context of the Theban naval expedition, is remarkably apt.[65] The *temenos* of Achilles is said by Plutarch—or his source—to be πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, that is to say, it would have been outside the city walls, but nearby.[66] Plutarch does not say—he probably did not know—where the temene of Peneleos[67] and Tlepolemos had been, but it is possible that they too were near the urban centre of the polis, and that all of them were established as part of the process of absorbing the territories of Aulis and the villages of the Tetrakomia (Heleon, Harma, Mykalessos, and Pharai) into the polis.

This modest exercise has, I hope, shown that even the slightest, apparently insignificant document can shed useful light on the past. In this case, a text consisting of a single word, which has not been seen since 1832, nevertheless

62 Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7.42b: τινὲς δὲ ἐξ Ἀντιγόνης αὐτῷ Τληπόλεμόν φασιν.

63 See Buckler 2008b.

64 This they might have done in recognition of the loyalty of the Tanagrans over the years (in contrast to Thespiai, Orchomenos, and Plataia), and perhaps also as a means of shedding the costs involved in governing the region, at a time when Theban resources were under increasing pressure because of the Third Sacred War.

65 Achilles at Byzantion: Hesychios of Miletos, *BNJ* 390 F 7(16). See also Hedreen 1989 and Hooker 1988. There is a slim chance of there being evidence for some kind of connection with Thebes at Olbia, a major centre of the worship of Achilles, where a proxeny decree, dated ca. 350–300, was originally restored with the proxenos as Θ[ηβαίωι] (*IOlb* 14). Vinogradov 1997, p. 31 note 121, later suggested reading Θε[σσαλῶι]. See also *SEG* XXXVII 669.

66 Compare the θιὰς προFαστίδας of Migeotte 1992, pp. 75–81, no. 28.

67 The presence in the story of Peneleos, the chief of the Boeotian leaders in the Trojan War, is almost mandatory. Whether it was translated into a real cult site is, however, not clear.

confirms Plutarch's passing reference to Tlepolemos and to his cult; it sets this cult into an historical context; and incidentally it provides the latest datable example of the use of the epichoric script in Boeotia.[68]

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Digging in Storerooms for Inscriptions: An Unpublished Casualty List from Plataia in the Museum of Thebes and the Memory of War in Boeotia[1]

Yannis Kalliontzis

As the title of my chapter suggests, the work of cataloguing and identifying Boeotian inscriptions often takes the form of a quasi-excavation into both ancient and modern Boeotian history. Of course, my work at the Museum of Thebes has not been a strictly personal and lonely endeavor: it has transpired within the framework of the Greek Epigraphic Society and the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Boeotia.[2] During the period of my study in the museum, I tracked down many published inscriptions of considerable importance for Boeotian history that had been considered lost, and I came across some very interesting new texts. Most of them had been discovered long ago but were subsequently forgotten due to the accidents of history. And, just as in an excavation, where one never knows what to expect, the documents discovered cover a wide range of periods, from the Archaic period to Late Antiquity, and come from a variety of places.

The vagaries of recent history have not been conducive to the study of Boeotian inscriptions. The Second World War, in particular, caused major damage to Boeotian antiquities.[3] Except for some very recent finds, most of the important

1 I would like to thank V. Aravantinos, former director of the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities of Boeotia (9th E.P.C.A), for assigning to me publication of this inscription, and in general for providing me the best working conditions in the Museum of Thebes; Prof. D. Knoepfler, Dr. A.P. Matthaiou, Prof. N. Papazarkadas and the participants at the Berkeley symposium for their comments and corrections; and in particular Prof. R. Stroud for sharing with me information about his visit to the Museum of Thebes with W. Kendrick Pritchett. I would also like to thank Prof. C. Chandezon for inviting me to present this inscription at the University of Montpellier and for his comments. I am most grateful to the Aleshire Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy for organizing the symposium and for financing my participation.

2 I have presented elsewhere the joint project of the 9th E.P.C.A. and the Greek Epigraphical Society for the preparation of a checklist of inscriptions kept in the Boeotian museums and its progress so far: Kalliontzis 2011 and 2012.

3 See for example the description of the war's damage to antiquities in *BCH* 68 (1944) Chro-

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unpublished inscriptions from the Museum of Thebes had been found in the period before 1939. Regarding these, the most significant of the war's effects was without doubt the untimely death of the great French epigraphist Michel Feyel. The Second World War also contributed to the death of another major figure of Boeotian epigraphy, Nikolaos Pappadakis. The latter had worked in Boeotia and Central Greece from 1911 until he became Professor of Classical Archaeology at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in 1926. Pappadakis was exemplary in tracing and protecting Boeotian antiquities, and especially in transporting inscriptions to the Museums of Boeotia, notably those of Thebes, Chaironeia and Tanagra. He died immediately after the end of the German occupation of Greece in 1945. His death meant that he never published the majority of the inscriptions he had found.[4] Pappadakis' discoveries were partly forgotten because they were difficult to find after the turmoil of the war, and they rapidly fell into total oblivion. What exacerbated such difficulties was that the second volume of Pappadakis' inventory was lost for almost 30 years until it resurfaced in 2007. This is why even as tireless an epigraphist as Paul Roesch was unaware of the existence of some of these inscriptions.

A Casualty List from Plataia

One of the most interesting historical inscriptions Pappadakis transferred to the Museum of Thebes was a stele from Plataia. The inscription was found by Pappadakis at Plataia in 1924 but has hitherto remained unpublished. A brief note about its discovery was presented in the *Chronique des fouilles* of the *BCH* of 1925.[5] That great student of Plataia and its topography, W. Kendrick Pritchett, took notice.[6] Pritchett, however, never had the opportunity to examine the

nique, p. 429: "À Thèbes, au cours du déménagement hâtif des antiquités du musée par des soldats italiens, des caisses ont été brisées, leur contenu cassé et mélangé. Des troupes ont séjourné dans le musée; beaucoup de pierres déposées dans la cour, surtout des inscriptions, ont été brisées ou noircies par les feux allumés par les soldats. À Chéronée et à Tanagra, des inscriptions ont été brisées. À Skimatari, les Allemands ont détruit la tour médiévale, avec tous les matériaux antiques, reliefs, inscriptions, qu'elle contenait. À Orchomène, une partie du mur Ouest de la forteresse a été détruite par le canon."

4 For an overview of Pappadakis's work, see Romaios 1950.

5 Pritchett 1957.

6 Pritchett 1985a, p. 216, no. 77, "Before 372 B.C. The 'Chronique' of BCH 49 (1925) contains the brief entry (p. 456): 'Thèbes. Le musée a reçu un certain nombre de stèles funéraires: l'une qui provient de Platées, contient un catalogue de soldats morts à Olynthe.' Nothing is said

inscription in Thebes, and his conclusions about the historical context of the text were based exclusively on the small note of the *Chronique des fouilles*. As Ronald Stroud has kindly informed me, several decades ago he and Pritchett visited the Museum of Thebes in order to find the inscription, unsuccessfully, as it happens, because of the chaotic state of the *apotheke* of the Museum at the time. In any case, researchers who read Pritchett's note have subsequently reproduced it: one such scholar is Luisa Prandi, who briefly mentions Pritchett's view in her monograph on the history of Plataia.[7]

The Inscription

Thebes, inv. no 2343. The stone was found in the house of a peasant named Sophos, in the modern village of Plataia/Kokla. According to Pappadakis' own entry in the inventory of the Museum of Thebes, the owner of the stele reported that he had found it along with a simple funerary stele, to the east of the ancient city.[8] The rather large stele is made of poor quality Boeotian marble and is broken at its lower part. It has a simple undecorated pediment; its back is very roughly hewn. The dimensions are the following: height 0.73 m., width 0.54 m., thickness 0.13–0.17 m.; the height of the lettering is 0.013–0.018 m. The surface of the inscription is quite eroded, but the use of charcoal has allowed us to read most of the names of the left column and, with much more difficulty, those of the right column. (**Fig. 1**)

about the date of the script, and I know of no publication of the stone. Clearly the bodies were not transported from the Chalkidike to be inhumed. Plataians were settled at Skione on the isthmus of Pallene: Thucydides 5.32.1. Since Plataiai was destroyed by the Thebans for a second time in 372 and not rebuilt until 338, and Olynthos was destroyed in 348, a casualty-list erected at Plataiai must pre-date 372 BC. Moreover the Boiotian city was destroyed in 427 and not refounded until 387 by the Spartans, so the monument must date before 427 or between 387 and 373. Possibly, the dead served with Teleutias and Agesipolis of Sparta against Olynthos in 382/1 BC, when Teleutias had an army of more than ten thousand men, including Thebans: Xenophon Hell. 5, 2, 37 ff.; Diodoros 15, 20 ff. Teleutias, the distinguished Spartan, was killed before Olynthos in 381 BC.; see Ehrenberg *RE* s.v. Teleutias (1934) 400." Pritchett has dedicated many studies to the topography of the battle of Plataia: see most notably Pritchett 1957 and 1985b.

7 Prandi 1988, p. 97, n. 14: "Ad una partecipazione di truppe plateesi alle operazioni spartane contro Olinto del 381/1 potrebbe far pensare un'iscrizione proveniente de Platea (*BCH* 1925, 46) e recante un catalogo di soldati caduti presso la città calcidica (ipotesi di Pritchett, *The Greek State*, IV, 1985, 216)".

8 For this funerary stele, see the Appendix at the end of the chapter.

Ἐν Ὀλύνθωι

Θώμων ~ ΕṂ[----]
Ἀριστομένης Δ̣ᾰ[-----]
Εὔνομος Σθένε̣ι̣ο̣ς
Ἀμφίλαος Δόρ̣κ̣ω̣[ν]
Γ̣ειτέας Ἀσωπόλᾰ̣ο̣ς
Μνασίδωρος Εὐανθ[- -]
Κίττος [--------]
Ἀρίστων Κί̣χ̣ω[ν]
Ἀμφαρείδας Λαπομ̣π̣[ίδας]
Ἀσώπων
Φυταλῖνος
Ἀσώπιλ̣λ̣ος
Ἐπιχάρης

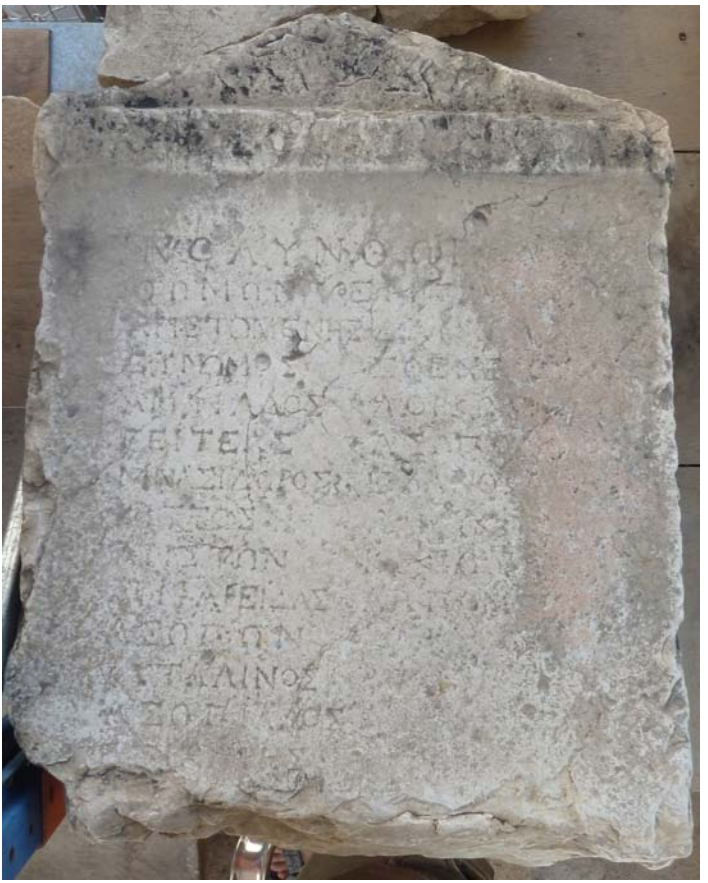

FIGURE 1 *The new casualty list from Plataia* (*courtesy of the 9th E.P.C.A.*)

Letter Forms

The lettering of the inscription is not particularly distinctive, and the surface of the stele is so eroded that it is not easy to discern details of individual letters. The letters are rather large and uniform in height. In particular, the horizontal hasta of alpha seems broken, the upper and lower hastae of sigma are parallel, theta has a point in the middle, and, with a couple of exceptions, omicron has almost the same height as the other letters. The right leg of pi is shorter than the left leg. The form of the letters could suggest a date in the first century BC.[9] (**Fig. 2**). In general, the engraving of the monument was not very meticulous; it was a humble product rather than a luxury good.

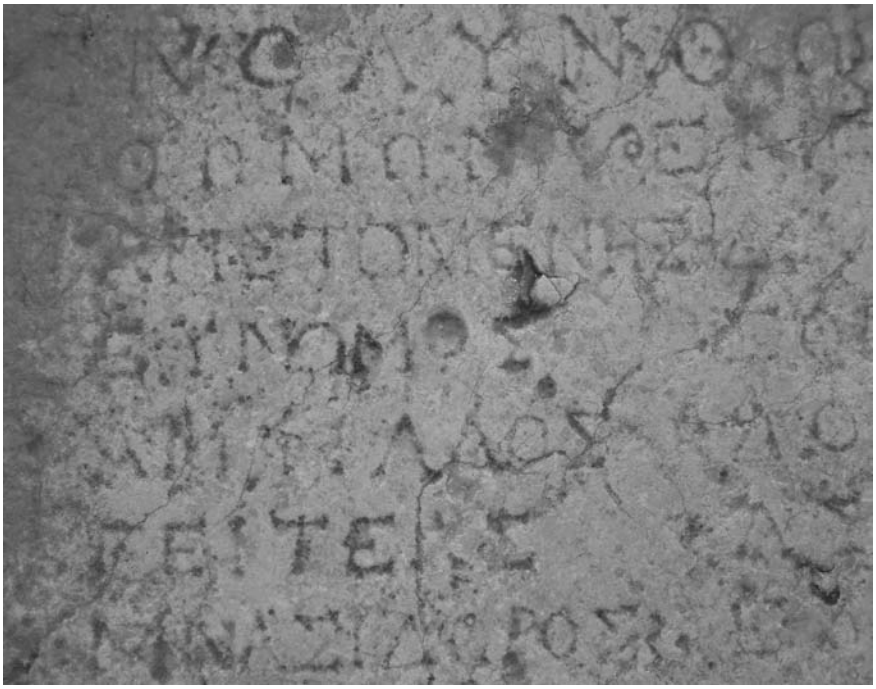

FIGURE 2 *Detail of the lettering of the casualty list*

9 We can observe a certain resemblance to the lettering of *SEG* XXXV 343 (Migeotte 1985), a decree and list of contributors for repairs to public buildings at Messene dating to the Augustan period. For a more precise tentative dating of our text, see below.

Notes

L. 1: After the heading Ἐν Ὀλύνθωι the catalogue itself begins with the personal name Θώμων and that of another person, which starts with EM[- - -]. Between the two names there is a punctuation mark that resembles a tilde.[10] (**Fig. 2**) This symbol should mark the separation between the two columns. Furthermore, it helps us to comprehend these columns as two separate lists, rather than as two sequences of entries consisting of names and patronymics. The title Ἐν Ὀλύνθωι is not centered in comparison to the two lists of names. This seems rather peculiar, but I have been unable to see any letter traces after the title, and besides, the badly worn surface of the stone does not permit any secure conclusions.

Thus the text begins with the title Ἐν Ὀλύνθωι and continues with the enumeration of the dead. The reference to Olynthus and the form of the catalogue bear many similarities to casualty lists from the *demosion sema* in Athens and in other regions of the Greek world, which always begin with the name of the battle at which the casualties fell, as a title for the list that follows.

Let us turn first to the names of the deceased. Some of them bear interesting and rather uncommon names, with the exception of an Ἀρίστων and an Ἀριστομένης.

L. 2: The name Θώμων in line 1 is attested at Thespiae (*LGPN* IIIB, p. 204, s.v.). It stems most probably from the word θαῦμα, 'astonishment, wonder'; var.: Hdt. et al. θῶμα. PN Θώμων (Boeot.); cf. γνῶμα: γνώμων et al.; see Bechtel 1917b, p. 214.

L. 5: The name Ἀμφίλαος is known mainly from Thessaly (*LGPN* IIIB, p. 31, s.v.).

L. 6: Γειτέας is not otherwise known, but its formation seems normal from the stem Γειτ-, i.e. it belongs to the family of names which begin with Γείτ-, such as Γείτας in Chalkis and in the Aeolid (cf. *LGPN*, I, p. 106, and V, p. 107, s.vv.).

L. 8: Κίττος is a rather rare name attested three times in Boeotia (*LGPN* IIIB, p. 231, s.v.). It is presumably linked to the Dionysiac cult.

L. 12: The name Φυταλῖνος is attested only in Eretria, *IG* XII.9.191 B, l. 38. It must be formed from the word φυτόν, 'plant,' which gives the name Φυτάλιος, epithet

10 A symbol that resembles the tilde is found in the well-known inscription of the gerousia of Hyettos, for which see Oliver 1941, pp. 143–146, no. 33.

of Zeus etc., and Φυταλίδαι, an Attic hereditary group named after their eponym Φύταλος.[11]

L. 13: The unattested potamophoric name Ἀσώπιλλος should be the Atticised form of Ἀσωπίλλεις. This name is unattested but it seems to be formed with the well-known Boeotian hypocoristic ending –ιλλεις, which was later transformed to –ιλλος under the influence of *koine*.[12] The well-known river Asopos passed by Plataia; the entire region from Plataia to Tanagra is named Parasopia after the river.

L. 17: The name Σθένειος is not attested in Boeotia, but it occurs in Lokris (*LGPN* IIIB, p. 376, s.v.).

L. 18: Δόρκων is attested in various Boeotian cities (*LGPN* IIIB, p. 126, s.v.).

L. 19: If my reading of Ἀσωπόλαος is correct, the name raises some interesting issues. Epigraphically it is a hapax; in the textual sources it is attested just once, in Thucydides (an Ἀστύμαχος, son of Ἀσωπόλαος, appears as a representative of Plataia in its negotiations with the Spartans in 427 BC at Thuc. 3.52.5).

L. 22: The name Κίκων is attested in Attica, the Megarid, and Crete (*LGPN* I, p. 255, s.v.).[13] It is formed from the word κῖκυς, which means 'strength, power'.

L. 24: The name Λαπομπίδας is attested in Achaia and in the Argolid (*LGPN* IIIA 268–269, s.v.).

All in all, the presence of patently Boeotian names such as Ἀσώπων in line 11, Ἀσωπόλαος in line 6, and Ἀσώπιλλος in line 13, proves the Boeotian and more specifically Plataian character of this list, and, undoubtedly, its provenance from Plataia.

Date

Onomastics comprises the easy part of this fascinating document. The letter-forms present serious difficulties. The lettering of the list cannot be dated to the fourth century BC, before the destruction of Olynthus in 348 BC: it looks instead much later, perhaps as late as the 1st century BC (Fig. 3). Likewise, the presence

11 Beekes 2010, p. 1598, no. (l.?) 6.

12 Kalen 1924, pp. 120–121.

13 Bechtel 1917, p. 487: Κῖκος, Eretria *IG* XII 9, 222: "Ich gehe von einem Appelativum κικϝος aus, das sich zu κῖκυς verhält wie ϜαστϜος zu Ϝαστυ".

of the tilde symbol between the two columns in line 2 seems to favor a later date. An examination of the historical context of this inscription could help us propose a date for this monument. We have to resolve two problems: the first is to determine when the battle at Olynthus took place; the second, to determine when, and for what reasons, it was decided to set up the surviving inscription.

Historical Context

It is worth recalling that the unfortunate fate of the Plataians brought them into the vicinity of Olynthus for almost two decades. After the Athenians had exiled, in 421 BC, the original inhabitants of Skione, located at the south of the Chalcidike peninsula, they settled there a substantial number of the Plataians who had taken refuge in Athens after the destruction of their city by the Spartans in 427 BC.[14] The newly founded homeland was not to last long: following Athens' final defeat in 404, the Plataians had to flee to Athens once again. The presence of Plataians in Skione during the Peloponnesian War provides a possible historical context for the battle in which the Plataian soldiers of our casualty list died.

When Olynthus was razed to the ground in 348 BC, Plataia no longer existed: it had been destroyed by Thebes around 373 BC and was only refounded by Philip II after the Battle of Chaironeia in 338 BC.[15] This fact might tempt us to think that in the list under examination we have the dead of a battle fought at Olynthus before the final destruction of the city. Indeed, this was the opinion of Pritchett, who tried to date the inscription to 382/1 BC.[16] The dead Plataians would then have taken part in the campaign of the Spartan harmost Teleutias against Olynthus.[17] After all, Xenophon attests to the presence of Theban and

14 Prandi 1988, p. 118. The sources for this reinstallation are Thuc. 5.32, Diod. Sic. 12.76, Isoc. *Paneg*. 109.

15 Hansen 2004, p. 451, no. 216, Plataiai.

16 Pritchett 1985a, p. 216, no. 77.

17 For this expedition see Buckler 2003, p. 205. The major source for this campaign is Xen., *Hell.* 5.2.37: τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὄλυνθον στρατιὰν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν μὲν ἁρμοστήν, τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν αὐτοί τε ἅπαντας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέπεμπον, κελεύοντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτίᾳ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ οἵ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ὑπηρέτουν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσί τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ πόλις, ἅτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ, προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας. ("After these things had been accomplished, the Lacedaemonians with much more spirit

subsequently Boeotian troops in Teleutias' army. This hypothesis is attractive and cannot be dismissed out of hand, but I think that the date of 348 BC is better.

First of all, it would be easier for the later-period observer to understand the title ἐν Ὀλύνθωι as referring to the final battle for Olynthus, which led to the city's destruction, rather than to the less significant military conflict of 382/1 BC. The date of 348 BC can lead us to another hypothesis. As we well know, throughout Plataia's turbulent history in the fourth century BC Athens was the refuge for the tormented Plataians. Athens offered them the status of citizens with certain limitations.[18] But the Plataians also had great responsibilities towards their adoptive fatherland. They were obliged, for example, to fight with the Athenians in every battle. There is even some evidence that the Plataians formed part of the Athenian army. Indeed, they probably had their own contingent inside the Athenian army.[19] One particularly interesting example is provided by a passage of Pausanias in which he describes the monument for the dead of the Sicilian expedition: the Plataians who fought in the Sicilian expedition were honored in the same tomb with their Athenian counterparts, "ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀστοῖς."[20] We could assume that the same happened with the Plataians who might have participated in the three Athenian expeditions that tried to help

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set about dispatching the joint army to Olynthus. They sent out Teleutias as governor, and not only sent with him their own full contingent of the total ten thousand men, but also transmitted official dispatches to the various allied states, directing them to follow Teleutias in accordance with the revolution of the allies. And all the states gave their hearty support to Teleutias, for he was regarded as a man not ungraceful to those who performed any service, while the city of Thebes in particular, inasmuch as he was a brother of Agesilaus, eagerly sent with him both hoplites and horsemen"; Loeb transl. by C.L. Brownson). Even though there is a certain ambiguity in the use of the terms Theban and Boeotian at that period, Xenophon's testimony makes it clear that it was the polis of Thebes that sent troops to help the Spartans at Olynthus, and not the Boeotians in general.

18 Diod. Sic. 15.46.6; cf. Isoc. 14.51–52. See the analysis of Osborne 1982, II, D1, pp. 11–16. For a recent discussion of this subject and of the related testimonies see Canevaro 2010.

19 Thuc. 4.67.1.

20 Paus. 1.29.12: μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἑστάναι τὴν αὐτὴν σημαίνει τὰ ἐλεγεῖα, τοῖς μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ καὶ Χίῳ τελευτήσασι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῆς Ἀσιανῆς ἠπείρου διαφθαρῆναι δηλοῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ. γεγραμμένοι δέ εἰσιν οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ πλὴν Νικίου, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀστοῖς Πλαταιεῖς ("After those who were killed at Corinth, we come across elegiac verses declaring that one and the same slab has been erected to those who died in Euboea and Chios, and those who perished in the remote parts of the continent of Asia, or in Sicily. The names of the generals are inscribed with the exception of Nicias, and among the private soldiers are included the Plataians along with the Athenians"; Loeb transl. by W.H.S. Jones). Cf. Prandi 1988, pp. 46–47, 119–120.

Olynthus before its final defeat by Philip II.[21] This way we can solve another question: what was the source of the names of the Plataian dead at Olynthus? As I have already mentioned, at the time of the war at Olynthus in 348 BC the city of Plataia did not exist and so could not have had any archives. Consequently it would have been difficult for the Plataians to find the names of the dead. If we accept that these were Plataians who had participated in the Athenian army, we could hypothesize that the relevant information could have been deposited in Athenian archives or even that it could have been retrieved by reading the dead soldiers's names which had been inscribed in a casualty list for the war at Olynthus in the Athenian *demosion sema*.[22] Unfortunately, this monument has not yet been found, although we do have a passage of Pausanias that might refer to it.[23] From what has already been said, it seems more probable that the document under examination is a late, 1st century BC, transcription of an original of the fifth or fourth century BC rather than a forged document of the Roman period.

To conclude: regarding the date of the battle recorded in line 1 of the stele (ἐν Ὀλύνθωι), although I cannot categorically exclude Pritchett's 382/1 BC, or even a date in the fifth century in connection with the settlement of the Plataians in Skione, I have a clear preference for 348 BC, the year of the siege and final destruction of Olynthus by Philip II.

The Historical Context of the Cutting of the Inscription

On the basis of the type of the monument and the historical analysis offered above, as well as the lettering, which may well belong to the 1st century BC, as I have already argued, we could put forward the hypothesis that the inscription belonged to a cenotaph of soldiers who had fallen at Olynthus. We could further hypothesize that it was part of a larger monument—one consisting of multiple stelae—that might have honored the memory of Plataians who fell in different battles.[24]

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21 Psoma 2001, p. 246, n. 477.

22 Another remote possibility is that the names of the dead at Olynthus were preserved in archives that the community of Plataians had transported and preserved in Athens.

23 Paus. 1.29.7: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ὀνόματα ἄλλων, διάφορα δέ σφισι τὰ χωρία τῶν ἀγώνων· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπ' Ὄλυνθον ἐλθόντων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι … ("There are also the monuments of other men, their fields of battle lying in various regions. Here lie the most renowned of those who went against Olynthus …"; Loeb translation by W.H.S. Jones).

24 For tombs and cenotaphs in the Hellenistic and early Roman period see Schörner 2007, pp. 25–30.

After having provisionally identified the battle at which these Plataians fell, we must continue with the second question: why did the Plataians choose to record the dead of a bygone battle at a later time and, very likely, to construct a cenotaph for those dead heroes, and for what reasons? In order to approach this question we shall examine the prominent role of Plataia as a "lieu de mémoire."

The Significance of Plataia as a "lieu de mémoire"

The preeminent role of Plataia as a symbol of Greek freedom (ἐλευθερία) and concord (ὁμόνοια) is well-known. A recent trend in research towards questions of memory, identity and reinterpretation of the past in the Greek cities has brought welcome attention to the history of the commemoration of the Battle of Plataia.[25]

Thanks to a small corpus of important decrees in honor of political figures of the anti-Macedonian camp, for instance the decree honoring the Athenian Glaukon, son of Eteokles and brother of Chremonides, found at Plataia (*BCH* 99 (1975) pp. 51–75), and the decree for Eudamos and Lydiadas of Megalopolis (*SEG* LII 447–449), we know that in the second half of the third century Plataia was the center of the common congress (*synedrion*) of the Greeks. Numerous cities of central Greece and the Peloponnese participated in the *synedrion*, including the cities of the Boeotian *koinon*, Athens, and members of the Achaian *koinon*. By promoting the concepts of Greek liberty (*eleutheria*) and concord (*homonoia*),[26] and by organizing the games of Eleutheria in honor of Zeus Eleutherios, the congress appears to have adopted an anti-Macedonian agenda,[27] an agenda that could have continued well after the Macedonian Wars.

Now, one is tempted to place an inscription commemorating dead soldiers who had probably fought against a Macedonian king in the context of the Macedonian Wars with their fierce anti-Macedonian rhetoric.[28] However, it

25 For the battle at Chaironeia of 338 see Ma 2008.

26 For the cult of Homonoia at Plataia, see Thériault 1996, pp. 112–130; Jung 2006, pp. 311–316.

27 Jung 2006, pp. 341–343. The great attachment of Plataians to the tradition of the Persian Wars was approached by certain authors of the Hellenistic period with a critical view: see Herakleides Creticus fr. 11 (ed. Arentz), Poseidippos fr. 29. As Herakleides characteristically writes, "Οἱ δε πολῖται οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἔχουσιν λέγειν ἢ ὅτι Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἄποικοι καὶ ὅτι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Περσῶν παρ'αὐτοῖς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο". For the changes and the discontinuity in the notion of Eleutheria celebrated at Plataia see Wallace 2011.

28 The anti-Macedonian character of Plataia and the Eleutheria games is indicated by the

must be admitted that nothing is known about Plataia during this period, especially during the second century BC, in contrast to other Boeotian cities.[29] In addition, as I have already mentioned, the lettering of the Plataian inscription does not probably permit a date early in the second century but rather suggests a much later date in the first century BC. Consequently, the theory of anti-Macedonian propaganda as the main motive behind the making of the Plataian inscription should be abandoned.

A more suitable chronological context for the new inscription is the first century BC, in particular the end of the century, when there is a well-documented turn towards the heroic past, most notably the period of the Persian Wars.[30] Plataia had played a prominent role in this context, and the interest in the games of Eleutheria and the commemoration of the Greek victory against the Persians was renewed in the early Roman Imperial period.[31] An especially important influence for this renewal is the role played by what has been called the Augustan Cultural Revolution.[32] The significance of the symbolism evoked by Plataia during this period is indicated by the high honor accorded to the victor of the armed race from the trophy of Battle of Plataia to the altar of Zeus Eleutherios. The victor of that race was proclaimed Ἄριστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων (Best of the Greeks).[33] Another indication of the continued importance of the memory of Plataia in the Roman period is the famous *dialogos*, the rhetorical competition between Athenians and Spartans over who would lead the procession to the altar of Zeus Eleutherios.[34] The creation of the *dialogos* may date to the Augustan period.[35]

In general, during this period we can discern in many Greek cities a voluntary return to the past and an effort to preserve and renew ancient traditions.[36] The return to the past sometimes was an actual renewal of old traditions, sometimes a construction of new, invented, ones. The phenomenon is of course

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fact that it was *after* being liberated from Macedonian control that the Koinon of the Thessalians chose to found the cult of Zeus Eleutherios and inaugurate games that were named after the games of Plataia, Eleutheria: see Graininger 2011, pp. 67–74.

29 For a synthesis on the Boeotian cities during this period see Müller 1996.

30 Spawforth 1994, Alcock 2002, pp. 74–86.

31 Jung 2006, pp. 317–319. For a recently published Messenian inscription mentioning Eleutheria see Themelis 2011, p. 143, Col. A, line 13, and Col. B, l. 2.

32 See most recently Spawforth 2012, pp. 130–141.

33 Jung 2006, pp. 350–351. For the inscriptions see Robert 1929.

34 Numerous Attic inscriptions mention this *dialogos*: see Robertson 1986. See also *IG* II² 2788, a fragmentary Athenian speech on the *dialogos*.

35 For the *dialogos* see also Jung 2006, pp. 351–360, and Chaniotis 1988, pp. 42–48, T10.

36 Hotz 2006.

better known from contemporary classicizing literature. Following the title of a recent volume, this period can be aptly characterized as 'a struggle for identity.'[37]

In Athens, not far from Plataia, this trend is known thanks to numerous inscriptions. The process of the restoration of the past is particularly evident in *IG* II^2 1035, which attests to the restoration of numerous Attic sanctuaries and monuments, including the *polyandreion* of the Athenian dead at Salamis.[38] In my view, this obsession with rediscovering the past that peaked in the Augustan period seems to be the appropriate moment for the commemoration of the Plataian dead of Olynthus. The antiquarian character of the research on the names of the dead in a battle long past fits the spirit of the period well.[39]

Besides, we must keep in mind not only the geographical proximity of Plataia to Athens but also the important links that bound Plataia and Athens together. For instance, the Athenians played an important role in the administration of the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios during the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods.[40] This role could have created at Plataia attitudes towards the past analogous to those at Athens. This seems particularly important for the commemoration of a battle where the Plataians were most probably part of the Athenian army. It is not inconceivable that what we have here is part of a Plataian *demosion sema*, which by emulating the example of the famous Athenian *demosion sema* tried to reconstitute the glorious past of the city.

The accounts of Plutarch and Pausanias as well as numerous inscriptions attest to the continuation and vitality of rites in honor of the heroic dead of Plataia well into the Imperial period.[41] Plataia continued to be a venerated *lieu*

37 Schmitz-Wiater 2011.

38 See Schmalz 2007–2008 with the older bibliography, and Spawforth 2012, p. 107.

39 Another example of a renovated monument for the dead of a bygone battle is the cenotaph erected in the late Hellenistic or early Roman Imperial period for the Milesians who fought against the Megarians in a battle of the Archaic period; the cenotaph was accompanied by an eloquent epigram: *I.Milet* 732 = Merkelbach-Stauber 01/20/08.

40 Camia 2011, pp. 233–236.

41 Plut. *Vit. Arist.* 21.2–6; cf. *de malignitate Herodoti* 42, 872F. Paus. 9.2.5–6. Prandi 1990, pp. 56–57, has proposed that in the interval between the writing careers of Plutarch and Pausanias, a concerted program rationalized the monuments for the Persian War dead and reduced their number to the three seen by Pausanias: one for the Athenians, one for the Spartans, and one for the other Greeks. This assumption is based on a difference between the description of the monuments by Plutarch and Pausanias and the fact that Plutarch could have seen the same monuments as Herodotus did. This fragile conclusion has been accepted by Naffissi 1995, p. 131, and more recently by Spawforth 2012, p. 245. For a more prudent approach see Moggi and Osanna 2010, pp. 224–225. A reorganisation

de mémoire even if the memory of the battle had been changed so as better to fit the Imperial realities of Roman Greece.[42] The continued veneration of the dead of the Persian Wars might have provided the Plataians with an example for the erection of a civic monument in honor of their own war dead. We also have to take into account that the turbulent past of Plataia would not have permitted the existence of a long tradition of civic *polyandreia*.

It is difficult to know where exactly the stele with the names of the Plataians who fell at Olynthus was erected. It does not seem to have stood among the funerary monuments of the dead of the Persian Wars described by Pausanias as standing outside the city gates.[43] It is more probable that this funerary monument stood somewhere in Plataia's civic center, perhaps in the agora or the gymnasium.[44]

The importance of the city of Plataia itself during the Hellenistic and Roman periods has now become more evident thanks to the publication of the geophysical survey conducted by an international team. The firm identification of the agora of the ancient city—with its Hellenistic features such as long stoas and public monuments in the city center—shows the potential for new finds that could elucidate many of the problems concerning the history of Plataia during the Hellenistic and early Roman period.[45] The agora of Plataia could contain other civic funerary monuments in honor of dead soldiers. Only further archaeological investigation could verify the various hypotheses put forth in this essay.

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of the tombs at a certain time before Pausanias is likely enough, but it is difficult to date it precisely. It would not be unreasonable, however, to date the change to a period when the interest in the Persian Wars was reinvigorated, as, for example, during the Augustan period. Could the monument for the dead at Olynthus be part of a general effort to restore the war monuments of Plataia? At the moment it is impossible to give a definitive answer.

42 Jung 2006, pp. 344–383; Alcock 2002, pp. 79–81, Spawforth 2012, pp. 130–138.

43 Paus. 9.2.5–6. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔσοδον μάλιστα τὴν ἐς Πλάταιαν τάφοι τῶν πρὸς Μήδους μαχεσαμένων εἰσί. τοῖς μὲν οὖν λοιποῖς ἐστιν Ἕλλησι μνῆμα κοινόν· Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων τοῖς πεσοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ τέ εἰσιν οἱ τάφοι καὶ ἐλεγεῖά ἐστι Σιμωνίδου γεγραμμένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Διός ἐστιν Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸς ** τοῦτον μὲν δὴ χαλκοῦ, τοῦ Διὸς δὲ τόν τε βωμὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησεν λευκοῦ λίθου. ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀγῶνα διὰ ἔτους πέμπτου τὰ [δὲ] Ἐλευθέρια, ἐν ᾧ μέγιστα γέρα πρόκειται δρόμου· θέουσι δὲ ὡπλισμένοι πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. τρόπαιον δέ, ὃ τῆς μάχης τῆς Πλαταιᾶσιν ἀνέθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἔστηκεν ἀπωτέρω τῆς πόλεως.

44 For other public funerary monuments in civic centers see Schörner 2007. For an example in Messene see Schörner 2007, pp. 245–247, Kat. A 21.

45 Konecny et al. 2012, po. 118–112. The recent volume published by Konecny et al. 2013 appeared after this chapter had been written.

Memory of War in Boeotia

The new stele from Plataia gives us the opportunity to reexamine the question of the preservation of the memory of war in Boeotia through other types of monuments.[46] Boeotia was, as Epameinondas famously declared,[47] the "dancing floor of Ares" for a long period stretching from the Persian Wars to the battles of the Greek War of Independence. All these battles produced many monuments celebrating victory or defeat. The character of these monuments is either public or private. Here I provide a concise list of them, commenting extensively only on those monuments to whose study I can add new information or make new propositions.

A *Polyandreia*

The most characteristic monument celebrating the memory of war was the casualty list. As has been stressed during the past decade, the phenomenon of *polyandreia* and public cemeteries for war dead was not restricted to the Athenian *demosion sema*, but was rather common to the entire Greek world.[48]

1) Perhaps the best-known Boeotian casualty list is the monument for the Thespians who fell at the Battle of Delion in 424 BC, *IG* VII 1888a – i (*I.Thespiai* 485a – i). This was an important monument that may have imitated the monuments of the Athenian *demosion sema*.
2) Another less monumental base is *IG* VII 585 from Tanagra, which seems to contain the names of Tanagran soldiers who died, probably at the Battle of Delion in 424 BC.
3) The casualty list *I.Thespiai* 486 seems to refer to a battle dating to the beginning of the fourth century, most likely one of the battles of the Corinthian War.
4) On the basis of a newly published reading by P. Roesch, a new document should be added to this category of public funerary monuments: *I.Thespiai* 484 (*IG* VII 1889), an inscription that should be dated to the fifth century BC, and thus ought to be earlier than the polyandreion for the dead at Delion.[49]

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46 For the memory of war in the Hellenistic period, see Chaniotis 2005.

47 Plut. *Vit. Marc.* 21.

48 Low 2003; cf. already Pritchett 1985a, pp. 140–145.

49 I would like to stress once more the importance of the posthumous publication of P. Roesch's corpus of Thespian inscriptions in 2007. *I.Thespiai* has provided us with new readings which had remained unpublished, although they had been made by Roesch a long time ago.

5) The fragmentary list of names in *I.Thespiai* 487 is probably a casualty list. Unfortunately it has not been possible to find the upper of the two fragments, which bears the title of this intriguing document, in the Museum of Thebes (the lower fragment is inv. no. 2114) (**Fig. 3**).

FIGURE 3 *Fragment of casualty list:* I.Thespiai *487*

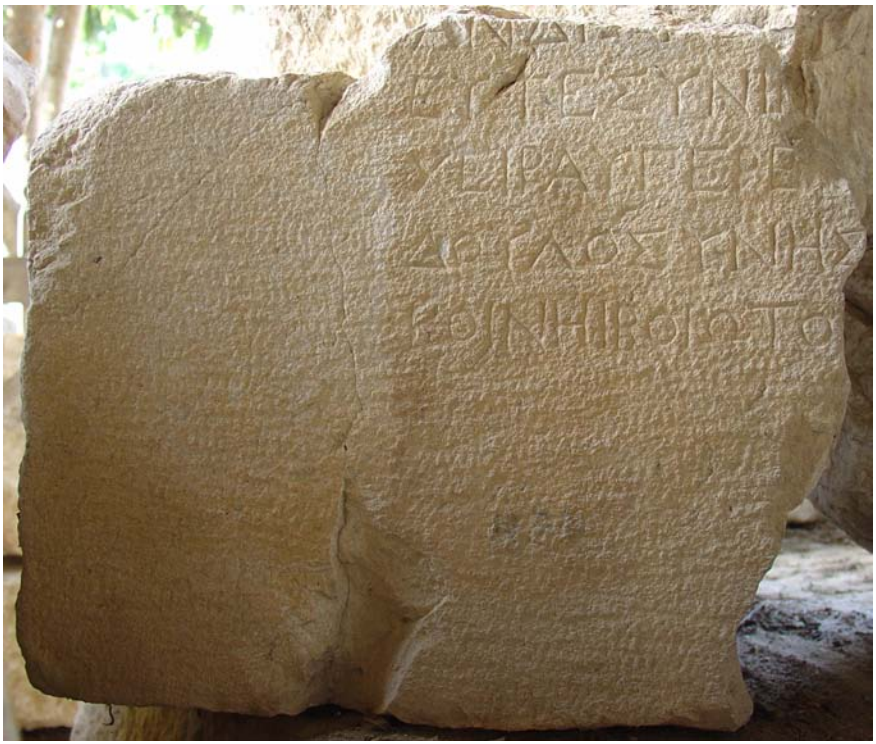

FIGURE 4 *Fragmentary epigram* I.Thespiai *336*

6) Another inscription, which could belong to the same category, is *I.Thespiai* 336. It is a small fragment, bearing part of an epigram mentioning the liberation of Greece, and is likely to have belonged to a public monument in honor of the dead in a battle. Its fragmentary character, however, does not permit certainty. This inscription should probably be dated to the first half of the third century BC (**Fig. 4**).
7) The best known of all Boeotian *polyandreia* is of course the famous *polyandreion* of the Lion of Chaironeia which has been attributed to the Theban dead of the battle of Chaironeia.[50]
8) Dr. Aravantinos has recently found in an excavation at Orchomenos a monument commemorating soldiers who died in a battle against the Aitolians, most probably the battle of 245 BC when the Boeotians were defeated at

50 For the many layers of memory covering this monument see Ma 2008.

Chaironeia.[51] This inscription bears a resemblance to the inscription in honor of the dead at Olynthus, in that it also appears to have been inscribed long after the battle it commemorates.

9) To this group of public funerary monuments we can now add the much later Plataian list that we present here. In contrast to all other public funerary monuments of Boeotia, the stele of the Plataians is one of the very few monuments to have been written a long time after the battle that caused the death of the recorded soldiers (see also no. 8), and it seems to be one of the latest in a series of monuments set up to honor war casualties.[52]

B *Archaeologically Attested Trophies with a Particular Focus on the Trophy of Sulla in Chaironeia*

The memory of war in Hellenistic Boeotia was not only preserved by *polyandreia* but also, quite prominently, by the trophies of the numerous battles that took place there during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. This category includes:

1) The trophy of the Battle of Leuktra, arguably the most famous of all Boeotian trophies, which was reconstructed by Orlandos.[53]
2) The newly discovered trophy of Sulla that lies nearly intact between Orchomenos and the village of Pyrgos and commemorates the victory of Sulla over the army of Mithridates at Orchomenos.[54]
3) A marble torso from Orchomenos, which belongs to an unidentified battle, probably of the first century BC.[55] The recent discovery of Sulla's trophy for the battle of Orchomenos makes impossible the attribution of this torso to the trophy of the same battle. Instead, the torso could belong to the trophy of Sulla from Chaironeia. The proximity of the two battles makes it probable that this trophy ended up in Orchomenos. Unfortunately, the conditions of the discovery of the torso are totally unknown and do not permit a secure attribution to any battle.

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51 This important inscription will soon be published by Prof. Aravantinos and myself.

52 Another inscription sometimes thought to be a casualty list is the fragmentary *IG* VII 2427 from Thebes. However, Vottéro 1996, pp. 161–164, has interpreted it as a list of citizens, and I have therefore decided to exclude it from the list above.

53 Rabe 2008, p. 183, n. 48, and pp. 129–131 with the previous bibliography.

54 Rabe 2008, p. 185, n. 55, and p. 143. E. Kountouri *AD* 56–59 (2001–2004) *Chron*. B′2, pp. 193–194.

55 Rabe 2008, p. 185, n. 54, and pp. 140–143, Taf. 49, 50, 1.

4) The Museum of Chaironeia possesses a monument linked to a trophy. It is a base with a relief depicting a trophy that has been tentatively dated by M. Bonanno-Aravantinos to the first century BC.[56]
5) A monument found at Chaironeia is associated with the victory of Sulla at Chaironeia as Plutarch attests in his *Life of Sulla*.[57] (**Fig. 5–7**) I would like to discuss this intriguing monument in detail, since I was able to examine it carefully during my work at the museum of Chaironeia.

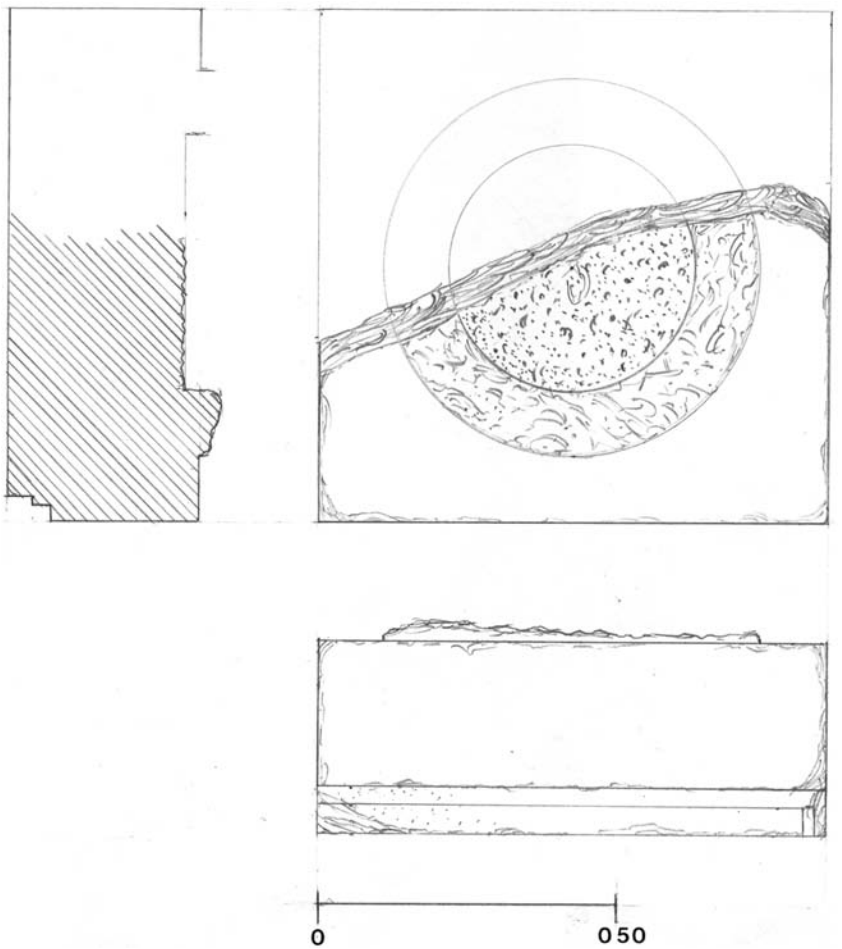

FIGURE 5 *The monument of Chaironeia: drawing by Nikolaos Kalliontzis*

56 Rabe 2008, n. 394, Taf. 50, 4 and most recently Bonanno 2011 with a thorough discussion.
57 Rabe 2008, p. 178, no 33 and p. 143. For the *editio princeps* see Camp et al. 1992.

FIGURE 6 *Monument of Chaironeia* (*SEG XLI 448*)

FIGURE 7 *Upper side of the monument of Chaironeia*

The monument bears the inscription Ὁμολώϊχος / Φανα[ξ]ίδαμος / Ἀρι[στ]ίς (*SEG* XLI 448). It has rightly been associated with a passage of Plutarch's *Life of Sulla* that describes a trophy erected by Sulla in Chaironeia after his victory against the army of Mithridates: "ἕτερον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Θουρίου κατὰ κορυφὴν βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κυκλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπισημαῖνον Ὁμολώϊχον καὶ Ἀναξίδαμον ἀριστεῖς."[58] According to Plutarch, by guarding Thourion, the two

58 Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 19.5–6.

Chaironeians assured the victory of Sulla over the troops of Mithridates.[59] On the basis of this attestation, the first editors rightly associated the inscription they had found with Sulla's trophy. It is certain that Plutarch actually saw the inscription and interpreted the monument as a trophy for the victory of Sulla at Chaironeia. But was it actually a trophy for that battle? The association of the monument with the Plutarchan passage has hitherto impeded an impartial assessment. Yet certain aspects of the attribution of the inscribed monument to the period of Sulla and of its interpretation as the base of a stone trophy are problematic and should be revisited:

a) The lettering of the inscription. It is difficult to date the letters forms of this monument to the first century BC. In particular, the divergent hastae of the sigma and the right bar of the alpha make a date in the first century difficult to accept. Had it not been for the passage of Plutarch, these letters would have been dated, on paleographic grounds, to the second half of the third century. In reaction to excessive and uncritical use of paleographic criteria during the first half of the 20th century, it has now become common to reject analyses based on paleography, especially in regions that lack recent epigraphical corpora. Nevertheless, we should not go to the opposite extreme and accept an absolute relativism in regard to letter forms. If we compare the letters of the Chaironeian monument with those of other inscriptions that are securely dated to the period of Sulla we will detect great differences. The lettering, for example, of the honorific inscription for Sulla from Akraiphia (**Fig. 8**) bears no resemblance to that of the monument from Chaironeia.[60] Likewise, there are great differences with the letters of the dedication of the trophy of Sulla that was discovered at Orchomenos in late 2004. One might be tempted to think that the peculiar letter forms of the Chaironeian base are an effort to imitate an older type of lettering, but this hypothesis does not explain the informal and inconspicuous appearance of the inscription. Why, after all, *imitate* letter forms of the third century BC?

59 Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 17.6–7.

60 Faraklas 1968 (*AnnEpigr* 1971, no. 448).

FIGURE 8 *Honorific base of Sulla from Akraiphia* AnnEpigr *1971, no. 448*

b) The dialect. The presence of a digamma in an inscription of the first century BC is almost entirely unprecedented in Boeotia. Only an Orchomenian victor list that probably dates to the first century BC has a digamma, but its presence there has been considered a deliberate archaizing feature.[61]

c) The form of the monument. It is difficult to explain the function of this monument. Although the first editors made an effort to present this block as the base of a column bearing a trophy, it is difficult to imagine that a large trophy could have been connected to this rather shallow hole, i.e., that a trophy made of stone could have been placed on top of this base. This might be the reason why the first editors prudently did not attempt any reconstruction of the entire monument and limited their treatment to the description of the possible form of the block itself.[62]

61 Regarding this catalogue, *IG* VII 3195, Gossage 1975, p. 121, notes: "The commentators are probably right in regarding the dialect forms as an antiquarian affectation on the part of a local magistrate rather than a display of bravado by a local nationalist movement during the Mithridatic War when the Romans temporarily lost control of Boiotia; and the recording of victors at the Homoloia as well as the Charitesia in 3196 and 3197 may be regarded as evidence of a progressive revival in Orchomenos during the post-Sullan era. For this reason 3195 should probably be counted as the earliest of the three inscriptions."

62 Camp et al. 1992, p. 448.

So, what could this monument be? Monuments bearing a resemblance to this base include the dedicatory bases from the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi that were described by Amandry as "bases campaniformes tronquées."[63] Amandry's 'base H', in particular, presents the characteristic double recessive moulding in the front (**Fig. 9**). These bases probably bore a column, which in turn bore some other dedication, probably a tripod. As Professor Knoepfler has suggested to me, another dedicatory monument that bears a resemblance is *I.Oropos* 517, a dedicatory base for Halia Nymphe that also belongs to the category of the bell-shaped bases (**Fig. 10**).[64]

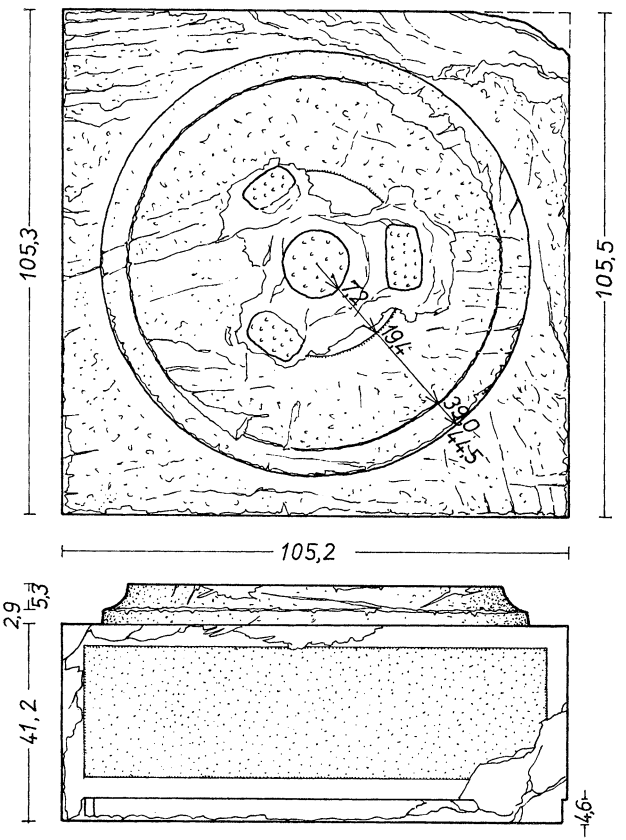

FIGURE 9 *Tripod base from Delphi: Base H (Amandry 1987, p. 98, fig. 10). Courtesy of EFA.*

63 Amandry 1987, pp. 97–101.

64 Another monument bearing a resemblance is the somewhat older base signed by Bryaxis,

FIGURE 10 *Tripod base from the shrine of Halia nymphe: I.Oropos 517*

There is, however, a difference between these monuments. The base from Chaironeia bears a depression, whereas the two other bases have only holes for the placement of the column that bore the tripod. On the other hand, this difference is not inexplicable if we take into account that a low column could be placed inside the depression and have exactly the same function. One way or another, as I have already noted, it is impossible to accept that a column bearing a heavy stone trophy could have been inserted in the shallow depression of the monument from Chaironeia which is only 0.033 m deep.[65] It is therefore quite likely that not only the form of the letters but also the form of the monument follows a prototype that goes back to the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods.

Thus, the monument of Homoloichos and Anaxidamos could well be a base for a dedication of some kind, such as a tripod. We must not forget, after all, that this monument was found near the sanctuary of Apollo Thourios, a cult that, according to Plutarch, had ties with Apollo Pythios (Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 17).[66]

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kept in the National Museum in Athens, which bears the same torus: Kaltsas 2003, p. 254, no. 530: "Square block. On the top is a circular projection with a profile in the form of cavetto. This served as the base of a colonnette or a small three-sided pillar on which a bronze votive tripod will have been erected. In the middle of the circular projection is a cavity used to pin the colonnette." As with the monument from Chaironeia, it is uncertain what exactly the monument of the anthippasia bore; for a proposal, see Pharaklas 1969, and also *SEG* XXXII 250. For this monument, see also Matthaiou 2007, p. 104.

65 See for example the long embolon of the trophy of Orchomenos, in Rabe 2008, Taf. 50, 1.

66 Camp et al. 1992, pp. 454–455.

Another possibility is that the base belonged to a funerary monument. An example of such a monument used in a funerary context comes from Eretria (*SEG* XXVI 1040) (**Fig. 11**).[67] Significantly, the Eretrian monument has the same torus as the monument from Chaironeia. This category of monument is also well attested in Rhodes, where the bases bore a funerary altar on the top and most often the name of the dead on the front, exactly as in the monument from Chaironeia (**Fig. 12–13**).[68] Nevertheless, this type is not otherwise known in Boeotia. Last but not least, similar in form to the funerary monuments is a type of round base common in Delos and in Asia Minor; this type, however, is not so common in mainland Greece.[69]

FIGURE 11 *Funerary base from Eretria SEG XXVI 1040* (*Orlandos,* EAH [*1976*]*, p. 25*)

67 This parallel was pointed out to me by Professor Knoepfler.

68 For these monuments see Fraser 1977, pp. 25–26, pl. 58a – d, 60, a – c, 68 b, and more recently Berges 1996, p. 32, Taf. 58.

69 Schmidt 1995, pp. 74–75: "Drei Exemplare delischer Rundbasen zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass ihr Basisfuss ganz oder zum Teil mit einem quadratishen Sockel aus einem Quader gearbeitet ist. Bei der Basis des Eutychides (Kat. V. 10 Abb. 84. 85) sind die Profilleisten direct an die Unter- und Oberkante des Scharfes angearbeitet worden."

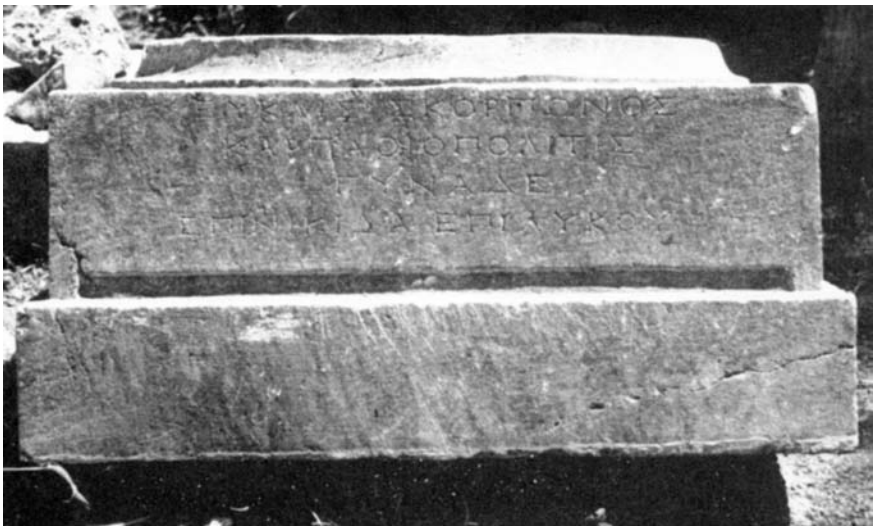

FIGURE 12 *Base of a funerary altar from Rhodes* (FRASER *1977, pl. 58c; reproduced courtesy of Oxford University Press*)

d) The last line of this inscription is also problematic. Thanks once again to Plutarch, this line has been read as containing the ἀριστεῖς from the life of Sulla. Is this really the case? The stone clearly bears API[ΣΤ]ΙΣ. It is difficult to interpret this ἀριστις as ἀριστῖς, a case of monophthongization totally unattested in the Boeotian dialect and epigraphy in the first century BC ΑΡΙΣΤΙΣ could be interpreted as the name Ἄριστις, rather rare but attested in various cities in central Greece. Names ending with –ις can be interpreted as either feminine or masculine depending on the accentuation. This interpretation is much closer to the realities of the Boeotian dialect. As the first editors have noticed, the letter forms of the last line are somewhat different from those of the other two lines; probably this line was added after the first two lines were cut.[70] The first two names could belong to the simplest form of dedication, i.e. those containing only the name of the dedicant or dedicants. The last line was added later. It is impossible to know when exactly this happened, as it is impossible to know if the last line is linked to a new interpretation of the monument as a trophy for the Sullan victory at Chaironeia.[71] If that were so, then might this effort belong also to the search for the past of the early Roman period? On the other hand, if we accept the funerary character of the monument, we could assume that the

70 Camp et al. 1992, p. 447.

71 For dedications with the simple name of the dedicant see Lazzarini 1976, pp. 231–235.

FIGURE 13 *Double rectangular base with double recessive moulding from Rhodes* (*Fraser 1977, pl. 58d; reproduced courtesy of Oxford University Press*)

feminine or masculine name Ἀριστις was added later to a pre-existing funerary monument.

In conclusion, I remain convinced that the inscription found by the first editors is indeed the inscription described by Plutarch in the *Life of Sulla*. But what did Plutarch actually see? Was Plutarch accurate in his description? The examination of the inscription itself makes a date in the first century BC highly unlikely and casts a shadow of doubt over the character of the monument. This

doubt is increased when we compare the monument from Chaironeia with other monuments related to trophies in the recent corpus of trophy monuments by B. Rabe.[72] The monument from Chaironeia clearly stands apart from the others. In fact, a certain unease about the true nature of this monument has already been expressed by Mackay. While he has accepted the validity of the text of Plutarch, he has interpreted the monument as a private Chaironeian commemoration of the victory of Sulla rather than as an official Roman monument.[73]

The planned publication of the trophy of Sulla found in December 2004 at Orchomenos will further emphasize the great differences between the official monument from Orchomenos, with its monumental character and its elaborate and developed lettering, and the monument from Chaironeia, which is almost certainly a private enterprise. Until that publication, which could offer an important comparandum for the monument from Chaironeia, the date and character of the monument from Chaironeia remain difficult to assess, and the testimony of Plutarch should be regarded with some caution. I have tried to show that other possibilities could be taken into account, and that it is not easy to reach definitive conclusions.[74]

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72 Rabe 2008.

73 Mackay 2000, pp. 168–177, esp. p. 171.: "Thus, the new discovery demonstrates that there were not two Sullan victory monuments to the battle of Chaironea. Instead … the new discovery turns out to be a private commemoration of the fact that two Chaeroneans, Homoloichus and Anaxidamus, were awarded the ἀριστεῖα for their services in assisting Sulla's victory". This proposal was accepted by Keaveney 2005, p. 204, n. 28 and most recently by Moggi and Osanna 2010, pp. 448–449, but rejected by Santangelo 2007, p. 203, n. 17. Knoepfler has independently arrived at a similar conclusion: *BE* (2009) 251. For another dubious interpretation of an inscription by Plutarch see Buckler 1992, p. 4797. Another incident that has provoked much discussion about its historical veracity is the story of Damon of Chaironeia presented by Plutarch in his *Life of Cimon* 1–2. This story is interpreted in different ways, either as a description of a historical fact or as local myth: see Ma 1994, pp. 49–80. For a recent treatment of this passage, with a complete bibliography, see Ellinger 2005, pp. 291–310.

74 As this chapter was going to press I became aware of the recent article by Assemaker 2013, who trying to reconcile the philological and archaeological testimonia arrived at the conclusion that there were three trophies associated with Sulla's victory at Chaironeia. Although I cannot possibly analyse all the issues raised in this very interesting article I only wish to point out that we would expect one trophy per battle. Hence one trophy for Sulla's victory at Chaironeia, and one for his victory at Orchomenos. As already mentioned, the second one has now been found and seems to be of a monumental character. Two monumental trophies at a distance of ca. 15 km must have been enough even for Sulla.

C *Epigrams*

Another category of inscriptions related to the memory of war consists of epigrams.

1) A funerary epigram for a soldier who fell in a battle at or near the Asopos river (*CEG* I 114).
2) The funerary epigram found at Thebes and published in this volume by Papazarkadas. The desire to keep the memory of the heroic dead intact is indicated by the fact that the inscription was later re-inscribed, perhaps in the period of the Theban hegemony.[75]
3) A dedicatory epigram inscribed on a colonnette found at Thebes commemorating the short-lived victory of the Boeotians over the Athenians, ca. 506 BC (*SEG* LVI 521; ed. pr. Aravantinos 2006).
4) An epigram honoring a military leader of the period of the Theban hegemony, published by Ducrey and Calame (*SEG* LVI 551) (Fig. 14).[76] This epigram is inscribed on a fragmentary base bearing the signature of Lysippus. A recent examination of this base at the Museum of Thebes has forced me to doubt the archaeological interpretation of its upper part. The hole on the upper surface of the base probably does not belong to the right foot of a statue, as per Ducrey and Calame.[77] On the contrary, I believe it is clear from the photographs that this is the trace of a left foot. This fact changes the orientation of the statue and makes difficult the reconstruction of the base. First Ducrey and Calame in their *editio princeps* and subsequently Knoepfler have pointed out that this block belongs to a base that consisted of two or more blocks, so at least the statue of the preserved block could have been turned to the right (Fig. 15–16).[78]

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75 For the exact location of the excavation and other information see V. Aravantinos, *AD* 56–59 (2001–2004) pp. 142–143, and Papazarkadas in this volume pp. 223–233.

76 See also D. Knoepfler, *BE* (2009) no. 258.

77 Ducrey and Calame 2006, p. 74: "L'empreinte entièrement conservée, celle du pied droit, suggère que celui-ci prenait son appui sur toute sa longueur. Il était légèrement tourné vers la droite. Le pied gauche place en retrait, était sans doute tourné vers la gauche."

78 Ducrey and Calame 2006, p. 75 and Knoepfler, *BE* (2009), no. 461. As Ducrey and Calame rightly point out, the Theban monument resembles other groups of statues, e.g., that of the navarchs at Delphi. For this monument see Jacquemin 1999, p. 338, no. 322. I thank S. Prignitz and G. Biard for sharing with me their observations and ideas on this base. For a presentation of the monument that accepts the new theory about the statue's position, see *Der Neue Overberck*, no. 2211 (to be published in 2014).

FIGURE 14 *Statue base with epigram, dedication and the signature of Lysippus of Sicyon: SEG LVI 551*

FIGURE 15 *Upper part of SEG LVI 551*

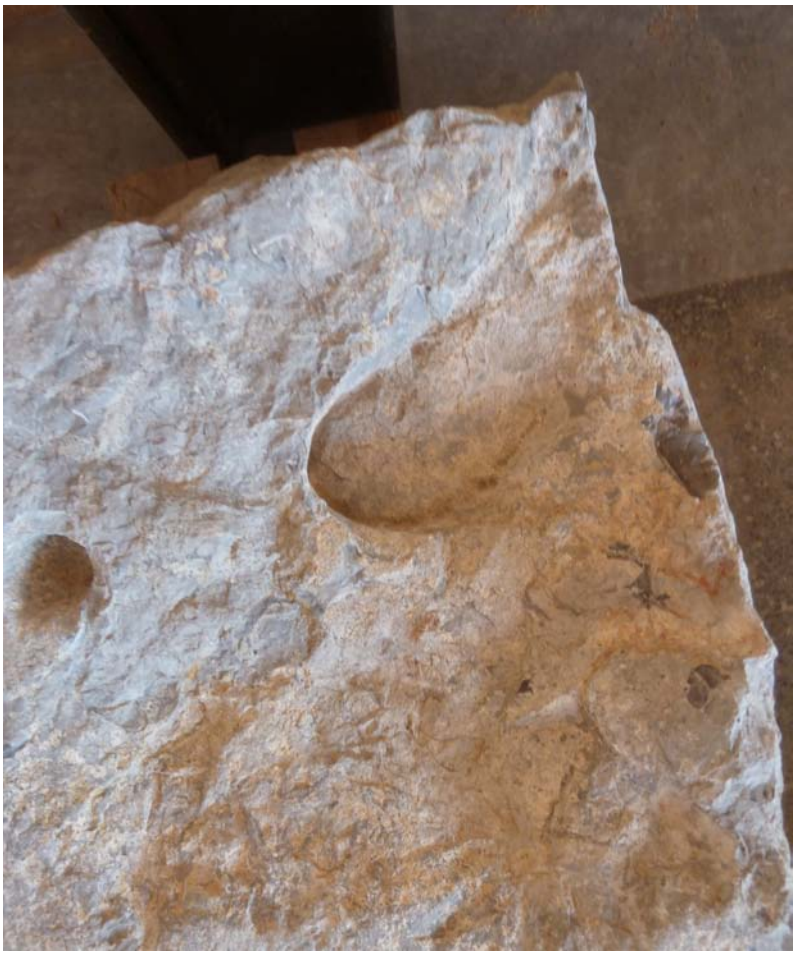

FIGURE 16 *Detail of the upper part of SEG LVI 551*

5) The well-known funerary epigram for Xenokrates, Theopompos and Mnasilaos dating also to the period of the Theban hegemony (*IG* VII 2462 = *CEG* II 632).[79]

79 Rabe 2008, pp. 195–196, no 97.

6) A dedicatory epigram in honor of Peisis of Thespiae inscribed on the base of his statue dedicated by Boeotian soldiers at Delphi (*CEG* II 789).
7) The epigram of Eugnotos, which honors an Akraiphian who fell in a battle against a Macedonian king, most probably Demetrius Poliorcetes. This monument has been thoroughly analyzed by John Ma: it belonged to a base, which comprised other blocks reconstituted by Ma (Ma 2005; cf. Cairon 2009, pp. 150–158, no. 46) (**Fig. 17**).[80]

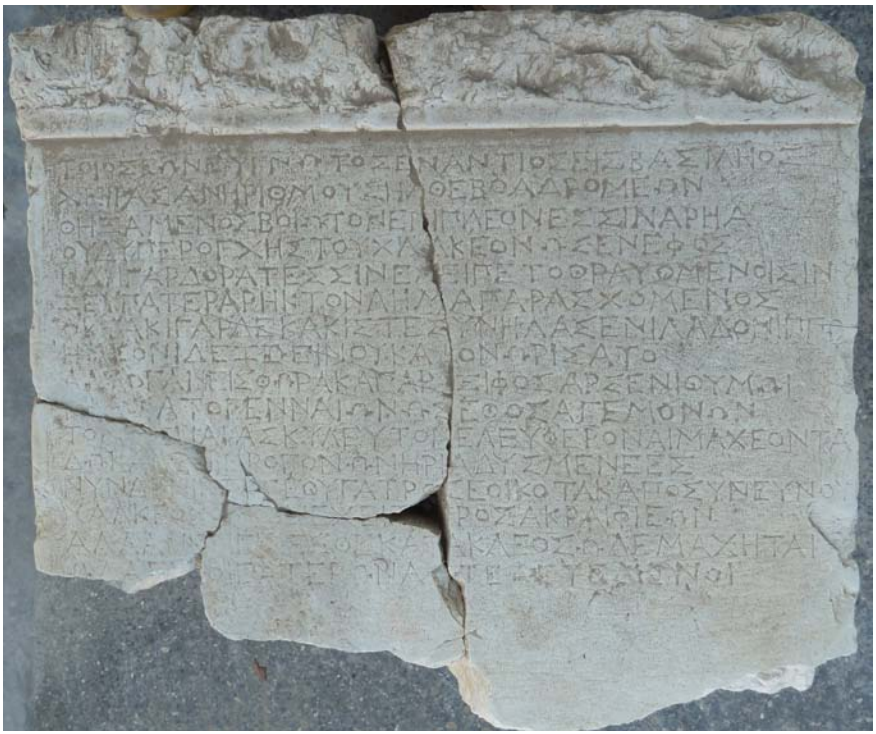

FIGURE 17 *Epigram in honor of Eugnotos of Akraiphia*

8) The funerary epigram of Euanoridas from Thebes, who fell in a battle against the Galatians while defending the sanctuary of Delphi (*IG* VII 2537 = *ISE* 68; cf. Cairon 2009, pp. 158–161, no. 47). (**Fig. 18**).

80 In the context of my doctoral thesis I reexamined all the blocks of this monument, and I plan to propose a new reconstruction in a future publication.

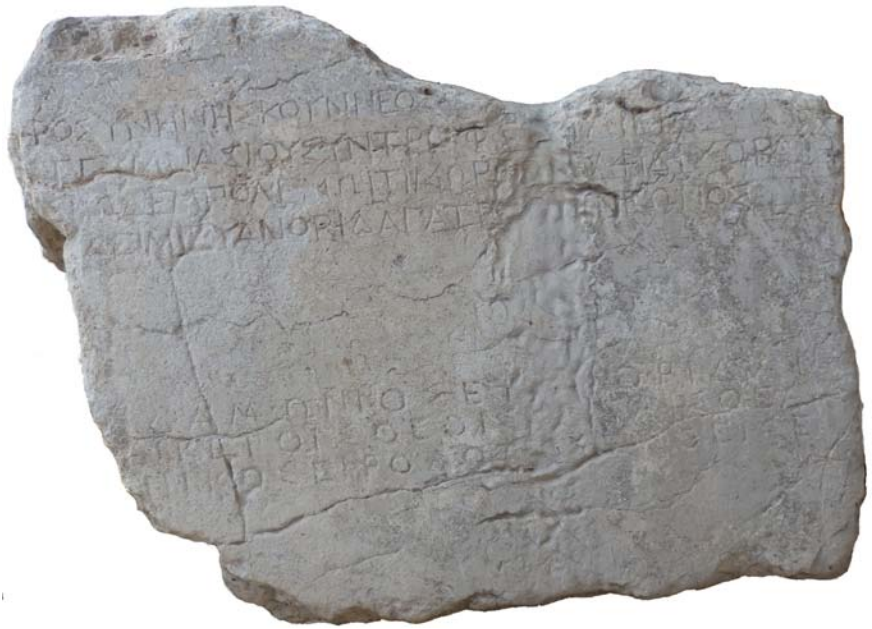

FIGURE 18 *Funerary epigram of Euanoridas, who defended Delphi: IG VII 2537*

9) The now lost funerary epigram for Athanichos from Thebes, fallen in an unknown battle, *IG* VII 4247; cf. Cairon 2009, pp. 161–165, no. 48).

D ***Funerary Stelae***

Another category of monuments commemorating war dead in Boeotia is the private funerary monument. No private funerary stelae from the Classical period commemorating war dead have yet been found, but we do have three stelae from the Hellenistic period.

1) One of the best known is the anthemion-stele belonging to Γλαυκίας Λανόμω πολέμαρχος, from Thespiae. This stele was found at Chaironeia and must belong to a polemarch who died at the Battle of Chaironeia in 245 BC, when the Boeotians were defeated by the Aitolians (*SEG* XXIX 440). (**Fig. 19**).

FIGURE 19 *Funerary stele of a Thespian polemarch: SEG XXIX 440*

2) More recently, in the area of Leuktra, a funerary monument was found for two men who died at the battle of Chaironeia of 245 BC.[81] (*SEG* LIII 461; LV 561).[82] (**Fig. 20**). After I shared my remarks and photos with Professor Knoepfler, he provided a corrected text of the inscription in the *BE*. As can be seen from the photo, we should read:

Ἀγάθω[ν],
[Μ]νασάρετος
[ἐ]ν Χηρωνείη.

FIGURE 20 *Funerary cippus for two dead at the battle of Chaironeia* (*245 BC*)

It is clear that the last line is not the ethnic of the two dead men but the place where they were killed. The form of the letters—alpha with a straight hasta, arched-bridge omega, theta with a dot in the middle—makes it almost certain that the battle where these men died was that of Chaironeia in 245 BC. The importance of the battle, at which the Boeotians were badly defeated by the Aitolians, can be seen in the fact that we possess a total of three relevant monuments, all of which have been presented above.

Other inscriptions linked to the memory of war, which do not fit in the categories presented here, include: the dedication of a group of Boeotian *hippeis* to Zeus Saotes, most probably made after their return from Alexander's campaign in Asia; a Thespian list of ephebes who participated in an expedition of an unknown Roman Emperor (*I.Thespiai* 37); and a private funerary stele from

81 D. Knoepfler, *BE* (2010), no. 277.

82 Ed. pr. E. Vlachoyanni, *AD* 54 B1 (1999), pp. 331–332.

Thespiae, now lost, that was inscribed with the members of a family who had died in various fifth-century BC battles, at Oinophyta, Oropos, and Koroneia (*I.Thespiai* 488). One last, very rich, category of monuments commemorating war is, of course, the funerary reliefs of Boeotian soldiers. This category, however, will not be analyzed here because it has been thoroughly studied on different occasions in the past.[83]

Conclusion

The new inscription from Plataia, and in general the richness of the material from Boeotia concerning war and its memory, show that this region was not only a place where battles were fought, but also one where battles were commemorated and long remembered. The pain and suffering caused by the numerous battles fought on Boeotian soil rendered the region not only the "dancing floor of Ares," as famously described by Epameinondas, but also the dancing floor of Memory. The inscriptions presented or cited in this chapter and the important Theban funerary epigram published elsewhere in this volume by Papazarkadas (text no. I) show the persistence of the memory of war in Boeotia and remind us that this most fertile region of Central Greece may still keep several hidden gems.

The effort to perpetuate the memory of the ancient battles was a constant of Boeotian identity, not unlike other Greek cities and regions. Boeotia possessed numerous "lieux de mémoire" related to various battles and periods. Amongst these places, Plataia clearly stands apart: it was a place where memory was constantly forged and reshaped. Eventually, this symbolic role of Plataia transcended the limits of Boeotia and acquired a panhellenic character. On the other hand there was no uniform way of commemorating war dead in Boeotia. As we have seen, each city chose its own way. Moreover, to the public preservation of memory we must add the private monuments for war dead. All in all, Boeotia and the Boeotian cities followed the trends of contemporary Greek cities concerning the modalities of war dead commemoration.

Over the last decade or so many scholars have turned their attention to the study of memory in ancient Greece. Several interesting treatments have been produced examining this phenomenon throughout antiquity across Greece.[84]

83 The reliefs are analyzed by Fraser and Rönne 1957, pp. 66–70, and Schild-Xenidou 2008, pp. 289–294, Kat. 56–62.

84 Among these publications we single out Ma 2009 and Chaniotis 2012.

Although such studies may make passing references to Boeotian monuments for war casualties they only rarely focus on the rich Boeotian material itself.[85] The present article has attempted to demonstrate that Boeotia is an exemplary field for future studies of this type.

Appendix

In order to show the wide range of Pappadakis' finds, I present here another funerary stele that the Greek archaeologist found in Plataia along with the stele for the dead at Olynthus. The stele is decorated with two rosettes in relief, and is now stored in the Museum of Thebes, inv. no. 2344. Height 0.73 m., width 0.52 m., thickness 0.21 m., letter height 0.03 m. (**Fig. 21**).

Ἐπὶ
Πυθοδώρωι

The theophoric name Πυθόδωρος is very common in Boeotia (*LGPN* IIIB, p. 367, s.v.). On the basis of the lettering, this epitaph should be dated to the first century BC.

85 Exceptional is the recent monograph of Steinbock 2013, which heavily features Boeotia, albeit from an Athenocentric point of view.

FIGURE 21 *Stele of Pythodoros from Plataia*

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Just as It Has Been Written: Inscribing Building Contracts at Lebadeia

Robert Pitt

The ruined foundations of a monumental Hellenistic temple of Zeus Basileus lie on the hill of Prophitis Ilias high above the modern town of Livadia, surrounded by scattered half-worked limestone blocks, which were abandoned before construction could be brought to completion.[1] We know more about the organization of the officials and stone masons who attempted to build this temple than almost any other public project in the Greek world due to the survival of a series of inscribed *syngraphai*. These work contracts let out various parts of the temple's construction to private contractors under a system of public-private partnerships. Franchises like this were commonly utilized by Classical and Hellenistic building projects wishing to attract (often foreign) entrepreneurs to undertake a commission. They worked within a strictly defined legal framework of detailed written specifications and regulations, their work constantly monitored and infractions rigorously penalized. The study of this Lebadeian dossier allows a detailed reconstruction of the project's history, illuminating the procedures employed by Boeotian federal officials to control its hired workforce, in the hope of reducing delays caused by fraud and mismanagement and protecting the project from losses of time and money. This paper explores that history, and offers some thoughts on the evidence which has been brought to bear on the dating of the construction project, including a re-edition of one overlooked inscription within the dossier, as well as an exploration of how the *syngraphai* were composed, and why the naopoioi at Lebadeia chose to display these documents by inscribing them on a wall

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purposely built of stelai, one of the largest such inscribed walls known from Antiquity.[2]

The Temple Project and Its Ruins

On his visit to Lebadeia, Pausanias comments that the temple of Zeus Basileus had been left half-finished due to its size or to a succession of wars, and that in a second temple were images of Cronos, Hera and Zeus.[3] The building is not mentioned again until 1436, when Cyriacus of Ancona passed through the town and drew a number of inscriptions and architectural members within the sanctuary, although the architecture may be from the smaller second temple.[4] Several travellers in the nineteenth century describe the visible remains as consisting of considerable foundations with some courses of the cella walls still in place and many half-worked blocks scattered about.[5] No doubt much of the stone was removed as building material to the town below, where blocks from the temple have been identified in a number of churches.[6] In 1967 a few orthostates were recorded still *in situ*, while fragments of mouldings and geison blocks, apparently from a smaller Doric building, were recovered from the covering debris.[7] What can be seen of the temple today is owed to a cleaning operation in 1997 by the 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical

2 For building contracts in general, see Davis 1937; Hellmann 1999, nos. 7–16; Feyel 2006, esp. pp. 469–510.

3 Paus. 9.39.4.

4 Cyriacus' sketches are labelled as the ruins of a temple of Juno: Bodnar 1960, p. 34 and n. 4.

5 Evidence for Lebadeia in the accounts of the early travellers is collected in Turner 1994, pp. 204–263, of which the most informative about the state of the temple remains are: L. Ross, *Wanderungen in Griechenland im Gefolge des Königs Otto und der Königinn Amalie*, vol. I, Halle 1851, pp. 35–38; H.N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, vol. I, Bremen 1849, pp. 164–173; F.G. Welcker, *Tagebuch einer griechischen Reise*, vol. II, Berlin 1852, pp. 42–44, 50–51.

6 See Gadolou 2008, pp. 549 and 556–557, for architectural spolia in Livadia.

7 *AD* 22 (1967) B.1, pp. 244–245, expanded in Vallas and Faraclas 1969; parts of smaller structures have been noted more recently (Gadolou [2008], p. 550) and may belong to the second temple mentioned by Pausanias. One column capital was thought to have originated from the temple (*AD* 1 [1915] supplement 42), but it is doubtful the structure ever reached such a stage (see below). A large column drum (1.90 m. di.) within the stone pile west of the temple (Gadolou [2008], p. 550) must also be from another structure, being cut from a softer stone than the local blue-gray limestone of the temple superstructure.

Antiquities and the Municipality of Levadia, which exposed the foundations of the cella floor and excavated the northwest and southeast corners of the *krepis*, allowing for the first time an accurate measurement of the structure.[8] The only identifiable architecture still *in situ* above the foundation courses is a single paving block at the center of the west side. Scattered architectural members around the ruins are comprised of predominantly orthostate and plinth blocks, many bearing the scars of the removal of their clamps and dowels: evidence at least that they must once have been set in place on the temple. Lifting bosses (some inscribed with mason's marks) and the presence of a protective skin on various blocks demonstrate that although they had been clamped into their places, they had not received a final finish.

The dossier of building inscriptions associated with this Lebadeian project includes contracts for a number of identifiable parts of the temple: a line of thirteen paving stones are ordered to be set against a neighboring course within the south peristyle, 160 orthostate blocks are listed from various sections of the walls, and at least two contracts are tendered out for plinth courses.[9] Although we cannot know how many of these sold contracts were ever completed, there is an apparent correlation between the architectural members which survived and the courses listed in the *syngraphai*, suggesting that the building did not proceed far beyond the lower courses of the cella walls.[10]

Whatever caused the Boeotians to finally abandon the project, it was not the first time construction had been halted: three of the contracts were themselves parts of earlier *syngraphai* resold after work had been abandoned.[11] This cessa-

8 *AD* 52 (1997) B.1, p. 392 and pl. 154 ε-στ, reported more fully in Gadolou 2008. The measurements given are 60 × 23 m. For earlier measurements and reconstructions see Roux 1960; Bundgaard 1946; Dinsmoor 1950, p. 268; Turner 1994, pp. 389–421.

9 Roesch's call for an edition of this dossier of texts associated with the Temple of Zeus Basileus (1982, p. 393 n. 60) was first answered by Turner 1994, pp. 264–361. The dossier comprises up to eight inscriptions, some of which may not belong: *IG* VII 3073–3076; *AM* 22 (1897), p. 179; *BCH* 20 (1896), p. 318; *BCH* 64/65 (1940/41), p. 37 no. 23; and *JHS* 15 (1895), p. 92. The contract for paving is *IG* VII 3073, ll. 89–188; orthostates, de Ridder and Choisy 1896; plinths, Wilhelm 1897. The fragment *BCH* 64/65 (1940/1941), pp. 36–40 sits uneasily within the dossier and is here excluded. It shows none of the conformity of lettering style of the surviving inscriptions, and I believe that it is much earlier, perhaps of the fourth century BC. Within just 13 very fragmentary lines are listed a column capital, triglyphs, cornice blocks, and a pediment, sections too far advanced for what we understand of the project's progress for the naopoioi to have contracted out, and probably belongs to a different public construction.

10 Turner 1994, p. 387.

11 Resold contracts: for the construction of a wall of inscribed stelai, *IG* VII 3073, ll. 1–89; for

tion probably occurred late in the project's history as the contractors had been working on the lowest sections of the cella walls when they dropped their tools. One re-sold contract for the erection of the inscribed wall of stelai instructed the masons to remove any metal dowels that had been left projecting from the stelai before their coping stones had been added. Such evidence suggests the cessation was part of a sudden and unforeseen termination affecting all contractors, which perhaps suits more a military cause rather than a slow abandoning of sections of work due to financial difficulties.

One of the earliest commentators on the *syngraphai* for the Temple of Zeus, Ernst Fabricius, suggested that the project had been funded by Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–164 BC), known for his largess towards many Greek cities.[12] The contracts demonstrate in fact that the temple was not a royal commission but a project of the Boeotian confederacy, with contracts dated by the eponymous federal archons, and the works overseen by an apparently newly ordained board of naopoioi, operating in collaboration with architects, the Boeotarchs, and the financial board of katoptai. The dating of the dossier was put on firmer ground when the only archon whose name is completely preserved in the contracts—Andronikos—was recognized by Étienne and Knoepfler as holding office in or around 220 BC.[13] The inscription preserving his name contains contracts let out for the setting of plinth blocks in the cella wall, perhaps one of the last contracts to be sold, judging from the building remains. As the fragment is critical to discussions of the dating and progress of the project, I present a re-edition.

Fragment of an opisthographic stele of a hard blue-gray limestone, broken on all sides but for a small area on the inscribed back face, where deep pick marks have removed most of the text, first noticed by Turner. H. 0.46 m; W. 0.30 m; Th. 0.20 m. Copied by Wilhelm in Lebadeia in 1890, and now Chaironeia Museum 256.

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a paving course, *IG* VII 3073, ll. 89–188; and for orthostate blocks, de Ridder and Choisy 1896.

12 Fabricius 1881, p. 15, suggested the attribution on the basis of Antiochos' donations in Greece, none of which was in Boeotia, listed in Livy 41.20, and was followed by Choisy 1884, pp. 173–174, Wilhelm 1897, pp. 179–182, and Dinsmoor 1950, p. 268, and is still repeated in e.g., the *Neue Pauly*, s.v. Lebadeia, despite the cautioning of Mørkholm 1966, p. 61 and the identification of a federal archon dating part of the project to the 220s (see below).

13 Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 301, 337–342, read the name Andronikos in an inscription from Aigosthena (*IG* VII 214) which allowed them to place him into the archon sequence around 220.

Letters: 0.008 m (omicrons and thetas 0.006 m); very similar in style to *IG* VII 3073.

Editions: A. Wilhelm, Bauinschrift aus Lebadeia, *AM* 22 (1897), pp. 179–182 (side A only); L.A. Turner, *The History, Monuments and Topography of Ancient Lebadeia in Boeotia, Greece*. Diss., Uni. of Pennsylvania, 1994, no. 263.5 (A and B); L.A. Turner, "*IG* VII 3073 and the Display of Inscribed Texts", in J. Fossey (ed.) *Boeotia Antiqua* IV (1994), p. 24 (text of side B = *SEG* XLIV 413). Autopsy, squeeze (**Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4**).

Side A ca. 220 BC

[----]..[..]ḲΕΙḶ[----------]
[- -] σύνθεσιν ἀγελαίων καὶ γω[νιαίων - -]
[- -]γιου ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῖς Π[οτιδαΐχου?- -]
[- - - δ]ὲ καὶ τὴμ πλινθίδα τὴν ἐπ[- -]
[- - τ]ὴν ἀγελαίαν καὶ ἐπικόψει τ[- -]
[- - -]ν ἐν τῶι προδόμωι καθὼς [- -]
[- - -] χρήσεται καὶ δήσει καὶ γομ[φώσει - -]
[- - κα]ὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα ποιήσ[ει - -]
[- - - ἐπο]ίησεν Ἀριστώνυμος Μνᾳ[- -]
[- - ἄρχοντο]ς Βοιωτοῖς Ἀνδρονίκου [- -]
[----- κα]ταστήσει καὶ {αι} δόσει .[- -]
[-------]ια ἔσται· ὁμοίως δὲ κα[- -]
[- - ἐν τῶι γεγρα]μμένωι χρόνωι ἢ μ[- -]
[------- πρα]χθήσεται ὑπὸ τῶν [ναοποιῶν? - -]
[---------- κ]αὶ ἔνοχος ἔσται το[ῖς - -]
[----------]γοις ἐνιαυτὸς κα[- -]
[---------- μην]ὸς Ἱπποδρομίου .[- -]
[---------- ο]υ Λεπαδεὺς το[- -]
[---------- δ]ραχμῶν χιλ[ίων - -]
[-------- τὴμ πλ]ινθίδα τὴν ἀγε̣[λαίαν - -]
[---------- τ]ὴν δὲ γωνιαία[ν - -]
[---------- ἔγ]γυοι Πύρρος [- -]
[----------] Θηβαῖος vacat
[---------- τῶ]ν ναοπο[ιῶν - -]
[----------]ς εἰς τὸ ι[- -]
[----------]ψε.[- -]

Side B

[- - -].....εας καὶ παῤ[- - -]
[- - τοῖς να]ῤποιοῖς καὶ βοιωτάρχοις [- -]
[----------]
[- - -]E[-------]
[----------]
[- - -]Μ[-----]
[- - -]ΙΑ[-----]

A. 3. Wilhelm, Turner: [–]ίου ἄρχοντος Βοιωτοῖς Π[–], upper horizontal before the first iota without traces beneath suggests gamma; following the final Π, Wilhelm printed an upright in his majuscule copy but not in the text, there remains perhaps the lower part of an upright without serif, which could be epsilon or beta with this cutter, although the line is on a break and may be illusory; the known archon list would suggest Ποτιδαΐχου, see below. **8.** Wilhelm, Turner [–]τὰ, but traces of an upright suggest [κα]ὶ. **9.** Wilhelm, Turner: Μνα[–], no trace of the alpha remains. **11.** i.e., KAIAI; traces of final letter suggest sigma. **25.** Wilhelm, Turner: τὸ ι[- -], final iota clear. **26.** Wilhelm, Turner: [–]E[–], although Wilhlem notes traces in his majuscule; the traces before epsilon can only be of psi with this cutter. **B.1.** Turner: [–]ας καὶ παῤ[–], the epsilon is clear, but preceding traces preserve only the bases of letters, perhaps [–].Ο.Θ.ΕΑΣ. **2.** Turner: [- - τοῖς ναο]ποιοῖς καὶ βοιωτάρχ[οι]ς [- -]. **3–7.** traces not previously noted.

Translation:

A ----------
– the setting of ordinary and corner (plinths) –
– when Potidaïchos was archon to the Boeotians –
– and the plinth, the one on/against –
– the one of the ordinary plinths, and he will dress –
– in the prodomos just as –
– he will use, and will clamp and dowel –
– all that remains he will do –
– Aristonymos son of Mna[–] made –
– when Andronikos was archon to the Boeotians –
– he will set down and give –
– just as –
– within the time written down, or –
– will be exacted by the [naopoioi?] –
– and he will be liable to the –
– a year –

– of the month Hippodromion –
– son of [–] of Lebadeia –
– a thousand drachmae –
– the ordinary plinth –
– the corner (plinth?) –
– the guarantors Pyrros –
– the Theban.
– naopoioi –
– to the –

B ---
– to/by the naopoioi and the Boeotarchs –

The presence of two archons on side A suggests that the plinth inscription preserves sections of two contracts, both apparently for plinth courses sold in different years. The vacat in line 23, on the analogy of the use of uninscribed spaces elsewhere in the dossier, may indicate the beginning of a further contract. The letter forms and layout of text also strongly resemble other surviving inscriptions in the dossier (*IG* VII 3073 and de Ridder and Choisy [1896]), and so the fragment should therefore be part of the same wall of inscribed stelai whose specifications are partly preserved within the dossier. In contrast to all the other contracts in the dossier, however, the plinth inscription preserves details of the sale (names of contractors and guarantors, dates and amounts of money) and not simply the inscribed *syngraphai* advertised to potential bidders. The *syngraphai* are normally very lengthy and detailed within the dossier, unlike this fragment, and the difference may reflect a change in procedure at this later stage in the project, or perhaps the plinth contracts were from part of the inscribed wall where sales records were written up, separated from the *syngraphai* themselves. The fragment mentions plinths, ordinary wall blocks, and corner elements, all of which can still be seen in the stone pile next to the temple. Brief architectural instructions are interspersed with time clauses and financial penalties; someone (a contractor?) is from Lebadeia, guarantors include a Theban, and a (minimum) amount of 1000 drachmai may be the price of a contract. Too little is preserved of side B to ascertain its content, but the presence of naopoioi and Boeotarchs assures its place in the dossier; it is likely unrelated to the plinth contracts on the other side of the inscribed wall.

Andronikos had provided an important chronological point in the project's history, but there is an overlooked second archon in line 3. Wilhelm had

recorded in his majuscule text an upright following the first pi of the archon's name; there may be traces of the lower part of an upright without serif, which following a pi should be epsilon with this cutter, but the traces are not certain and there is currently no known archon beginning with Πε-. It is more likely that we have here Potidaïchos, placed one year earlier than Andronikos by Étienne and Knoepfler, who fits well here in the year by year listing of contracts in our inscription.[14]

The only other explicit mention of the temple outside of the *syngraphai* is in a decree from Akraiphia following a consultation of Trophonios (*IG* VII 4136). The document has been dated to ca. 230–225 BC and contains the provision: ὅστις δέ κα τῶ | Διὸς τῶ Βασιλεῖος ἐπιμελειθείει τῶ ναῶ, τὸν στέφανον | ὕσετη (ll. 6–8). A crown is to be awarded to whoever takes charge of the temple, an incentive perhaps for volunteers to take on an undesirable role.[15] Schachter has argued convincingly that Akraiphia and Lebadeia are in competition for funding to finance the reorganisation of the Ptoia and the construction of the temple of Zeus Basileus respectively. The oracle came down in favor of neither party but accorded the Ptoia the status of an *agon hieros* and awarded a crown to whoever was willing to direct the temple construction project. If this decision effectively initiated the construction project ca. 228–226,[16] and the plinth contracts were some of the last to be sold around 220, such a schedule leaves little room for the building of the considerable temple foundations, paved peristyle, and orthostate course set in place to receive the next wall courses. In addition, at some point during those years, work had stopped for a period and the contracts for paving and orthostate courses were later resold. The resold orthostates would have needed to be in place before the naopoioi could turn their attention to selling the plinth contracts, and so the two should be dated close together. As this reconstruction appears architecturally unlikely, the oracular response may not have provided the impetus for the start of works but rather a helpful push for work to continue following difficulties, perhaps the same problems which necessitated the resale of the paving and orthostate contracts.

Schachter, however, argued that the consultation of Trophonios shows the koinon intervening in a beleaguered project of the Lebadeian polis, and taking it over as a federal enterprise, which would then place the resold contracts

14 Archon list: Étienne and Knoepler 1976, p. 350; Potidaïchos at 303.

15 Schachter 1984, p. 265.

16 Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 337–342.

in the period after the decree. Nevertheless, the inception of the project could have been much earlier than the consultation of Trophonios, perhaps in the early third century.[17] Turner proposed a likely conception for the temple during the period of freedom before the Aetolian hegemony and after the first indications that the sanctuary was of federal significance, in the first half of the third century, with the interruption evidenced in the dossier caused by Aetolian hegemony 245–235.[18] The size of the building and the history of federal interest in the sanctuary suggest that the project was always of the confederacy and not only of Lebadeia.

To my mind, the cessation should be placed in the 220s, due to the homogeneity of the surviving inscriptions in the dossier, but also because of the length of time implied in a number of contract clauses. In reselling the contract, the naopoioi absolve the original contractor of any responsibility for his abandoned work, yet his guarantors were still to remain as sureties for the work until the new contractor had fulfilled his obligations and both old and new sections could be assessed together. This suggests that the cessation may have lasted at most a few years, with the naopoioi assuming that the old guarantors would still be active; a period such as the proposed ten years or more of the Aetolian hegemony would make such clauses difficult to interpret.

Nafissi, however, places the project in the aftermath of the victory of the Hellenic League over Kleomenes III of Sparta (224–222), with construction beginning in 220, the plinth inscription containing perhaps the first contracts sold, and work being interrupted by the second Macedonian war.[19] These arguments cannot now stand; the plinth inscription of 220 must necessarily be from a late stage of the project architecturally, possibly even the last undertaken, after many years of building work to reach the cella walls.

In the economic climate in which Boeotia found itself after 220 and during the reign of Phillip V, construction seems to have finally ground to a halt, leaving the temple walls half-finished and quarried stone scattered about the sanctuary.

17 Schachter 1994, p. 114.

18 Turner 1994, p. 386.

19 Nafissi 1995.

Drafting *syngraphai*

We hear no more of the position of *epimeletes* mentioned in the decree from Akraiphia as overseeing the temple of Zeus; perhaps the promise of a crown for his efforts was not reward enough to lead this troubled project. Instead, the dossier of building inscriptions makes it clear that a college of naopoioi were in fact the overseers of the temple building program, from the planning stages through to the final approval of each contract. They appear both as the authors of the *syngraphai* and as the principal authority behind the clauses within them. Prior to construction they advertised the contracts to potential bidders and sold them at auction (*IG* VII 3073, ll. 5–6, 38, 92). They maintained a manifestly hands-on role during building work, and appear to have had some architectural competence, reserving the right to alter any of the measurements written in the sold *syngraphai* if the need arose (ibid., ll. 24, 182), and inspecting the quality and weight of clamps and dowels and their placement before the stone masons were allowed to set firm any block (ll. 170–172).

The naopoioi had broad powers to assess penalties for poor workmanship or any failure by the contractor to abide by the precise letter of the *syngraphai*, often to an amount of their choosing (l. 17). They were also the principal extractors of such fines from contractors and their guarantors, writing up debtors unable to pay on whitened boards for further punishment (ll. 2–6). They had the power to make on-the-spot decisions over areas of the works where disagreements had arisen between groups of contractors—not inconceivable with a number of small groups working in close proximity—and their decisions could not be appealed to a higher authority (ll. 42–44). They also at times worked in collaboration with other officials, imposing penalties together with the Boeotarchs on contractors who failed to use the quality of materials specified in their contracts (ll. 156–157), and fining contractors who set blocks in place without first exhibiting the work to their satisfaction (ll. 174–176). At the satisfactory completion of a contract the naopoioi would consult with the architect to sign off on the works, and, having approved it, they would release the final payment (l. 53). The level of detail written into each contract left little to chance, but in case problems arose that had not been foreseen in the *syngraphai*, a clause was added that such matters should be referred to the laws of the naopoioi and of the financial board of katoptai (ll. 87–89).[20] It must have

20 On Boeotian katoptai, see Fröhlich 2004, pp. 169–180. Roesch 1982, pp. 290–292 argues that the reference is to two separate laws and not a single one covering the two colleges, and is followed by Fröhlich.

been in collaboration with several groups of officials and specialists such as these that the naopoioi drew up the *syngraphai* that were to be tendered, soliciting architectural and procedural advice from competent bodies beforehand in order to make the contracts water-tight.

We occasionally catch sight of this committee stage of contract formulation behind the inscribed specifications themselves. The architect, about whom we know little, presumably played a significant role in drawing up the contracts. The purely architectural sections of the *syngraphai* are distinct from those dealing with payment procedures or penalty clauses, for which the naopoioi might have been responsible. The specifications and measurements tend to move logically according to the dates when the naopoioi wanted various sections complete; legal obligations, however, are sometimes clumsily inserted. This leaves the impression that contracts were made by selecting clauses from a great pile of paper documents.

A clause that orders payment to letter cutters for inscribing the contracts alludes to such an archive; they are to be paid based on an estimate of the number of letters in the paper copies of the *syngraphai*: πάντων τῶγ γραμμάτων τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἐκ τοῦ ὑποτιμήματος πρὸς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀντιγράφων ἐγλογισθέντα (*IG* VII 3073, ll. 54–56). The system of breaking down the architectural specifications of a large building project into smaller contracts led to a great deal of repetition of information among the contracts. The specifications for the setting of one row of paving or wall blocks would have needed little alteration to become a contract for the setting of the neighbouring course. A number of such identical clauses can be detected across the extant inscriptions. These verbatim repetitions inserted at necessary points from a stockpile of procedural paragraphs offer an interesting glimpse into the work involved in the drawing up of these documents prior to their being advertised and sold at auction. One revealing case of repetition appears in two of the contracts with slight variations:

IG VII 3073, ll. 29–41:

μηδὲ καταβλαπτέτω μηθὲν τῶν ὑπαρ-
χόντων ἔργων ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι ὁ ἐργώ[νη]ς· ἐὰν δέ τι καταβλάψηι, ἀκείσθω τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν δοκίμως ἐγ χρόνωι ὅσωι ἂν οἱ ναοποιοὶ τάξωσιν. καὶ ἐάν τινα ὑγιῆ λίθον διαφθείρηι κατὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ τῆς θέσεως ἐργώνης, ἕτερον ἀποκαταστήσει δόκιμον τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀνηλώμασιν οὐθὲν ἐπικωλύοντα τὸ ἔργον, τὸν δὲ διαφθαρέντα λίθον ἐξάξει ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν πέντε, εἰ δὲ μή, ἱερὸς ὁ λίθος

ἔσται. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποκαθιστῆι ἢ μὴ ἀκῆται τὸ καταβλα-
φθέν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεγδώσουσιν οἱ ναοποιοί, ὅτι δ' ἂν εὕρηι,
τοῦτο αὐτὸ καὶ ἡμιόλιον ἀποτείσει ὁ ἐργώνης καὶ οἱ ἔγ-
γυοι. ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ φυὰν διαφθαρῆι τις τῶν λίθων, ἀζήμιος ἔσ-
τω κατὰ τοῦτον ὁ τῆς θέσεως ἐργώνης.

Let the contractor not damage any of the
existing works in the sanctuary; but if he should damage anything,
let him repair it at his own expense, approvably within such time
as the naopoioi order; and if any sound block should be spoiled
during the work, the contractor for the setting
will substitute another approved one at his own expense,
not hindering the job; and the spoiled block
he will take away out of the sanctuary within five days, and if not, the block
will be sacred (i.e., confiscated). If he does not substitute or repair the damage,
the naopoioi will put this out to tender again, and whatever it may fetch,
both this and a half as much again the contractor and the guarantors will pay.
But if any of the blocks should by nature be spoiled, let the contractor
for the setting not be fined for this.

IG VII 3074, ll. 9–20:

μηδὲ καταβλαπτέτω μηθὲν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔργων π[ερὶ]
τὸν ναὸν ὁ ἐργώνης· ἐὰν δέ τι καταβλάψηι, ἀκείσθω τοῖς ἰ[δίοις]
[ἀ]νηλώμασι δοκίμως ἐγ χρόνωι ὅσωι ἂν οἱ ναοποιοὶ τάξω[σιν].
[κα]ὶ ἐάν τινα ὑγιῆ λίθον διαφθείρηι κατὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ τῆς θ[έσε]-
ως ἐργώνης, ἕτερον ἀποκαταστήσει δόκιμον τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀν[η]-
[λώμα]σιν, οὐθὲν ἐπικωλύοντα τὸ ἔργον· ὁ δὲ διαφθαρεὶς λίθος [ἱερὸς]
[ἔστω. ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποκαθιστῆι τὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ διαφθαρέντος λίθον ἐ[άν τε]
[μὴ ἀκῆτ]αι τὸ καταβλαφθέν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπεγδώσουσιν οἱ ναοπ[οι]-
[οί, τὸ δὲ] γενόμενον ἀνήλωμα εἰς ταῦτα ἀποτείσ[ε]ι αὐτὸ καὶ [ἡ]-
[μιόλιον] ὁ ἐργώνης καὶ οἱ ἔγγυοι. ἐὰν δὲ κατὰ φυὴν ἢ κατ' ἄλλο τ[ι τῶν]
[γεγρ]αμμένων ἐγκλημάτων διαφθαρῆι τις τῶν λίθων, ἀζή[μιος]
[ἔσ]τω κατὰ τοῦτο ὁ τῆς θέσεως ἐργώνης.

Let the contractor not damage any of the existing works around
the temple; but if he should damage anything, let him repair it at his own

expense, approvably within such time as the naopoioi order;
and if any sound block should be spoiled during the work, the contractor for the setting
will substitute another approved one at his own expense,
not hindering the job; and let the spoiled block be sacred.
But if he does not substitute a block in place of the spoiled one or if
he does not repair the damage, the naopoioi will put these out to tender again,
and the cost incurred for these, this and half as much again
the contractor and the guarantors will pay. But if any of the blocks by nature,
or by any other of the written defects, should be spoiled,
let the contractor for the setting not be fined for this.

The drafters of the contracts appear to have taken a clause common to both *syngraphai* and altered it slightly to fit their individual circumstances. The contractor is warned not to damage any of the existing works, in one case 'in the sanctuary', in the other 'around the temple'. The second example is from a contract for the laying of blocks on the temple itself, from stones supplied by the naopoioi. The first, however, has a set of builders erecting a wall of inscribed stelai away from the temple but still within the sanctuary, using stones that, in many cases, they themselves would have to bring into the sanctuary. As such, the authorities recognized that while the masons working blocks on the temple were only likely to damage neighbouring sections of that structure, the men building the inscribed wall would be hauling heavy blocks through the sanctuary and could potentially damage many other monuments during that process.

Another difference within this clause concerns the removal of damaged blocks: if the contractor accidentally damages a block he is working on, he must replace it and remove the damaged stone from the sanctuary within five days or it becomes sacred, that is, it is confiscated by the sanctuary. In the variant, the damaged block automatically becomes the property of the sanctuary, and the contractor is not given the option of taking it away for use elsewhere. The different end for the stone may have been determined by the way the stone had been provided in the first place: one contractor is being paid for bringing in the stone and working it, whereas the second contractor is described as ὁ τῆς θέσεως ἐργώνης, 'the one for the setting of the blocks'; in the latter case, the naopoioi may have provided the blocks and the contractor had only to work them for setting in place. This second contract is one of the resold *syngraphai*; the blocks may already have been in the vicinity of the temple, left by the previous contractors, and so remained the property of the naopoioi.

The overall impression from these repetitions is of a group of drafters calling upon a body of written documents in order to standardize the contracts. The wheel was not reinvented every time they drew up a new contract; a collection of previously approved clauses was assembled and inserted into each document where appropriate.

Inscribing Contracts

The naopoioi made the expensive decision to have all the *syngraphai* and other related documents inscribed on a long wall purposely built of stelai. Part of the contract for this wall is preserved (*IG* VII 3073, ll. 1–89), which, together with the surviving physical remains of the stelai, allows an accurate reconstruction of the inscribed wall.[21] An unknown number of stelai were clamped together, set into a stone socle, crowned with coping stones, and then inscribed—at least in part—on both sides. The wall must have been viewable from all sides and stood over two meters tall; we cannot be certain of its full length, but the preserved contract for its construction sets down specifications for a section of the coping layer to be joined to an earlier abandoned part of the wall, which Turner calculated as being almost sixteen meters in length.[22] We do not know how long the original section of wall was to which this contract adds further stelai, but it may well have been in excess of 20 m in total, making it one of the largest inscribed walls for which we have evidence from the Greek world. The naopoioi were willing to spend a considerable sum on this monument documenting the administration and progress of the temple project.

The letter cutters were paid for the inscribing and encaustic painting of letters at a stater and triobol per thousand letters. The men were probably local to Boeotia as they took their wages in bronze coinage that would not circulate outside the region.[23] They inscribed the documents in two columns per stele, writing continuously from one column to the next and crossing over stelai. The stelai were set in place before being engraved, as evidenced both by the specifications and by the irregular spacing of letters and lines towards the bottom of the surviving stele, where the cutter's movements would be restricted. Such a situation is unusual in inscribing practice, but understandable if the

21 The surviving fragments of the wall: *IG* VII 3073, de Ridder and Choisy 1896, and Wilhelm 1897.

22 See Turner 1994b for a full reconstruction of the inscribed wall.

23 *IG* VII 3073, ll. 5–6, 10–12.

contracts were only inscribed as each set of temple courses was sold. As noted above, the payments for letter cutting were calculated from copies of the documents handed over by the naopoioi, and as new documents needed inscribing, the cutters were assured they would be paid on an equal reckoning (ll. 59–60). Before final payment the letter cutters had to wash the stelai, cleaning out around the painted letters so that they were individually visible and free from excess paint (ἐγνιτρώσει τὰς στήλας καὶ ἀποδώσει τὰ γράμματα καθαρὰ καὶ ἐκπλυνεῖ ἕως ἂν κελεύωμεν).[24] The quality of the lettering that survives on the three fragments of this wall is striking: uniform in style and layout, it suggests a school of cutters working together on the project. The naopoioi were clearly interested not only in producing an impressive monument to their administration, but also in the legibility of the documents inscribed upon it: the letters were accurately painted and cleaned, a coping layer placed above to keep rain water from damaging them, and blank spaces left around the titles of the documents so that individual contracts could more easily be identified within a mass of text. The positioning of the wall within the sanctuary next to the advancing works and not in the civic center also shows a desire for the inscriptions to be somehow useful on site.[25]

Turner suggested that the closest parallels for such an inscribed wall of documents were to be found in fifth-century Athens, and that the Boeotians here are emulating a tradition of accountability.[26] However, there are examples closer in time and place in the accounts of Delphi, as noted by Sève,[27] and enough evidence within the corpus of building specifications elsewhere in Classical and Hellenistic Greece to suggest that inscribed walls of contracts were a form of display often chosen by building commissions.

Public display of documents in this manner was costly, and while at Lebadeia the naopoioi seem to have spared no expense, elsewhere some economy was applied to the inscribing of building specifications. The repetition of contractual material among many similar sets of specifications led some building commissions to take out sections of the *syngraphai* common to many contracts and have them inscribed separately in one place to which other contracts were subject. One such set of common building regulations was inscribed at Tegea

24 *IG* VII 3073, ll. 86–87.

25 Turner 1994b, p. 24, had suggested from the find-spots of the inscribed fragments that the wall was erected in the city of Lebadeia, but the clause within the wall contract quoted above orders the contractor not to damage any pre-existing works around the sanctuary, and so the wall must have been set up near the temple.

26 Turner 1994b, pp. 25–28.

27 *BÉ* (1995) no. 68.

in the fourth century. Each contractor undertaking work at Tegea was to be bound by these regulations as well as any specific clauses written for his own specific job: ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἐσδοθῆ ἔργον εἴτε ἱερὸν εἴτε δαμόσι[ον], ὑπάρχεν τὰγ κοινὰν σύγγραφǫ̣ν ταν[ν]ὶ κυρί[αν] π̣ὸς τᾷι ἐπὲς τοῖ ἔργοι γεγραμμέ[ναι σ]ὺγγράφ[οι].[28] The contractor had to be made aware of such general regulations outside of his own specifications, and several of the building contracts contain internal references indicating that such information existed elsewhere for consultation by the contractor. At Lebadeia the wall contract concludes with the instruction that anything else remaining that is not covered by the specifications is to be according to the laws of the katoptai and the naopoioi: τὰ δὲ ἄλλα, ὅσα μὴ ἐν τῆι συγγραφῆι γέγραπται, κατὰ τὸν κατοπτικὸν νόμον καὶ ναοποϊκὸν ἔστω.[29]

Space could also be saved in the inscribed contracts by referring the contractor to another earlier section of his own specifications. In the Lebadeian paving contract, for example, the builder is instructed to work a face of the blocks just as was written regarding the bases: καθὼς καὶ περὶ τῶν βάσεων γέγραπται, details given to him in an earlier section.[30] Such internal references to extra material would have been relatively simple for the contractor to check; what perhaps presented greater difficulty was the referral of the contractor to another contract altogether. An Athenian contract for the building of a stoa on Delos contains a number of directions to the contractor to carry out procedures according to *syngraphai* other than his own: he is to bring a model of the capitals for the building 'as has been written concerning the others,' and must pay the sub-architect on Delos 'just as is written in the *syngraphai* for the contractor of the orthostates.'[31] While the contractor could search for such documents in the project's archives, it was more convenient on site to inscribe the various contracts and regulations in one accessible place; rather than set up a series of separate stelai, one common solution seems to have been to erect a long wall of stelai upon which all the relevant documents could be inscribed. This provided access for all concerned parties to their own contracts, as well as to the material held within other texts that they were expected to consult.

Inscribing on such walls kept all the project's documents together and facilitated easy access to them, cutting down the need to inscribe each contract separately with many repeated clauses, and so reducing the costs of inscribing additional letters. The Tegean regulations were clearly part of such a wall;

28 *IG* V.2 6, ll. 52–54; Rhodes and Osborne, *GHI* no. 60.

29 *IG* VII 3073, ll. 87–89; see above n. 20.

30 *IG* VII 3073, ll. 112–114.

31 *IG* II² 1678A, ll. 11–15 (= *I.Délos* 104(4)).

the only surviving stele has identical bands of anathyrosis on its left and right sides, indicating that it was flanked by at least two other similar stones clamped together, and is also inscribed on both sides, the reverse preserving a series of accounts. As with the Lebadeia dossier, the text is written in columns, with traces of the right margin of a column down the left side of face A, presumably from other documents related to building projects in Tegea. For the text to cross over the stelai edges, inscribing must have taken place after the wall was erected, as at Lebadeia. The Tegean *syngraphai* add an aid to the reader in the addition of paragraphoi marks indicating the beginning of clauses, as the Lebadeian naopoioi had included vacats to allow documents to be more easily identified.

A further example is the Athenian building inscription for a construction on Delos (*IG* II² 1678), which appears to contain parts of several contracts; it is opisthographic, and has anathyrosis bands consistent with the practice of clamping other stelai next to it. Although very fragmentary in parts, the stone contains repeated procedural clauses consistent with the presence of several similar contracts for stone-working inscribed on the same stele.

The monumental aspect of these walls must have been striking. At Lebadeia, the inscribed wall may have been in excess of twenty meters in length and ringed by enough space for viewers to walk around both sides of the monument. The cost of such a project to inscribe the contracts in this way was unnecessary if the sole purpose of the inscriptions was to allow the various interested parties to examine the documents; that could have been achieved with greater economy. The commission must have had in mind the additional desire to monumentalize the inscriptions which were to chronicle the progressing work of an important federal sanctuary; it appears in fact to have been the only part of the temple building project actually finished.

The publication of building contracts on stone affords us a much clearer light on the purpose of inscribing public documents. The publication clauses of many public decrees are laconic and formulaic, often offering the amount of money to be spent on the inscribing of the document. With building contracts, the documents have a private as well as a public element, and their inscribed versions appear to have played important roles in keeping the contractor to his responsibilities. At Lebadeia, the project officials inscribed the contracts at considerable expense, creating a monumental wall of documents, but elsewhere the contractors themselves could be obliged to inscribe their own contracts. In this scenario the building commission faced a potential problem: they could ask the successful builder to inscribe his own contract, but they still wanted to retain some control over the form the inscription took, and assumed that the entrepreneur would save money wherever he could, reduc-

ing the document's usefulness. On Delos there survive a number of publication clauses in building contracts that demonstrate the commission's desire to control the form of the inscriptions. In one case, the contractors are to inscribe the *syngraphai* on a stele and set it up in the sanctuary wherever the epistatai order. The stone must be four feet high, one-and-a-half feet wide, and five dactyls thick.[32] Such a prescription shows a wish on the part of the sanctuary officials to regulate the appearance of the stele itself; the contractor is prohibited from writing the contract up on a scrap of stone and inscribing letters too small, reducing the monumental impact of the inscription and its legibility. Elsewhere, the Delian naopoioi tackle the same problem from a different angle: the contractor must inscribe his contract using letters no less than half a dactyl in height, a clause which emphasizes the necessity of being able to read the document easily.[33]

The layout of the Lebadeian texts reflects the same desire to allow access to the content of the inscriptions. Each contract is separated from the next by a small vacat before the title of the documents, a space on the stone that would permit the beginning of a text to be identified from within a mass of continuous letters. The titles themselves (in fact shorter descriptions of the introductory lines of the contract) are separated further from the main text by an additional vacat. The emphasis placed by the naopoioi on the removal of the excess wax paint in the letters in order to render them clean also shows the commission taking an interest in the legibility of the texts.

The usefulness of the inscribed contracts can furthermore be seen in the locations where they were set up; at several sites we can infer from find-spot or through internal references in the texts that the inscribed contracts were set up near the works they describe. The evidence shows the authorities' concern for the accessibility of the texts on site. These contracts are to be read and used by a large group of interested parties. The architects and building commissioners needed to check the progress of the work against the specifications, just as the builders needed the instructions to follow. Other contractors needed to know what their neighbouring colleagues were required to build, in order to sort out

32 *I.Délos* 500 B, ll. 7–9: [π]οησάτω δὲ καὶ στ[ήλην τῆι συγγρα]φῆι καὶ ἀναγραψάσθ[ω καὶ στήσηι ἐς] τὸ ἱερόν, ὅταν οἱ ἐπιστάται κ[ε]λεύωσιν· ἔσται δὲ ἐς [μὲν τὸ ὕψος] τετράπους, πλάτ[ος τρι]ημιπόδιος, πάχος πέντε δακτ[ύλω]ν.

33 *I.Délos* 504 B, ll. 4–5: [– γραψ]άντων εἰς στήλην [λίθ]ου λ[ε]υ[κ]οῦ, [γ]ράμμ[α]τα ἐγκ[ο]λ[πτοντες ὕψος μὴ ἐλάττω ἡμ]ιδακτυλιαίων, as reconstructed by P.H. Davis, *BCH* 61 (1937), pp. 125–128 and in his notes preserved in the unpublished collection of L.B. Holland (et al.) *Sylloge of Greek Building Inscriptions*, housed in the library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

disputes at the points where construction teams met. Their value lay in the fact that a disputed measurement or procedural clause could be examined easily on site and not delay the work, in the way that a perishable copy residing in an archive would not do. The contractor could not dispute that the work he was undertaking was different in some way from the *syngraphai* he signed up to undertake. The documents, the names, the costs were there on the stone, in sight of the advancing works, overseeing the protection of the project.

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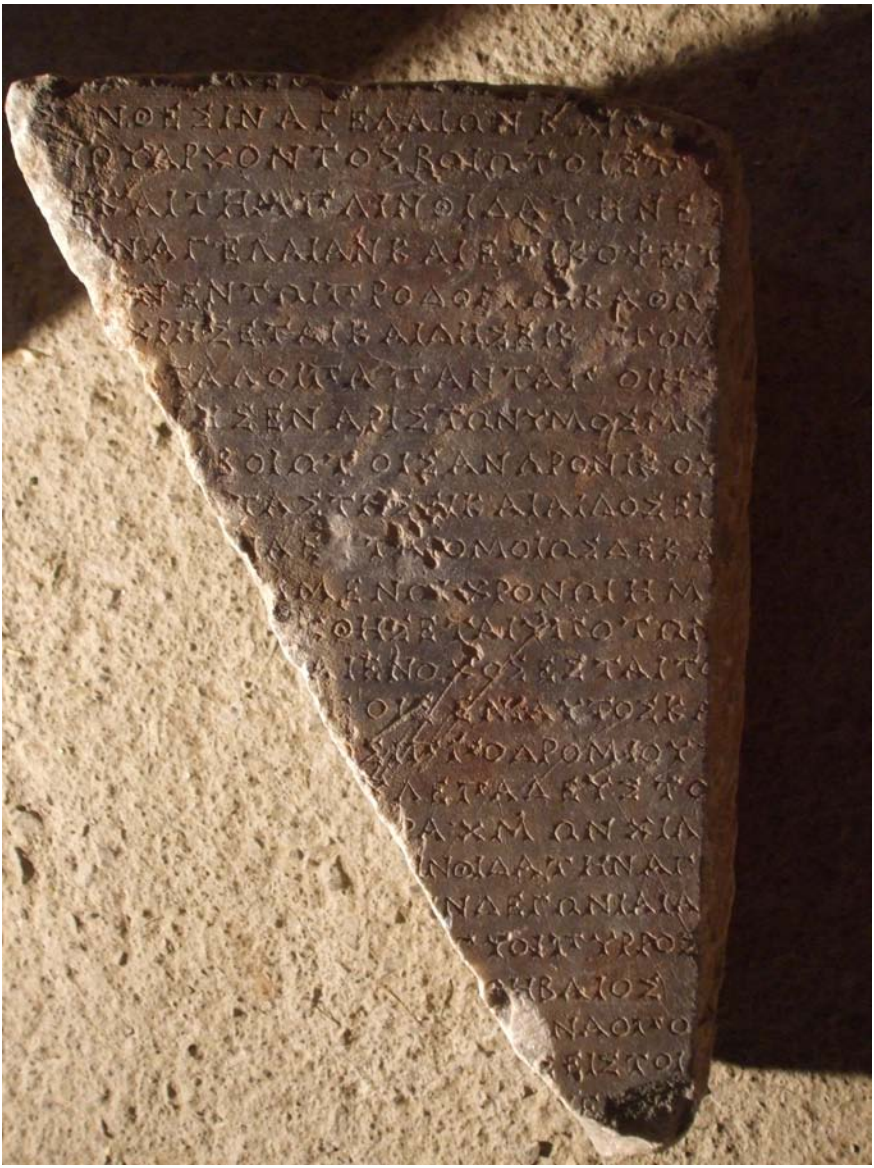

FIGURE 1 *Chaironeia Museum 256, side A; photo*

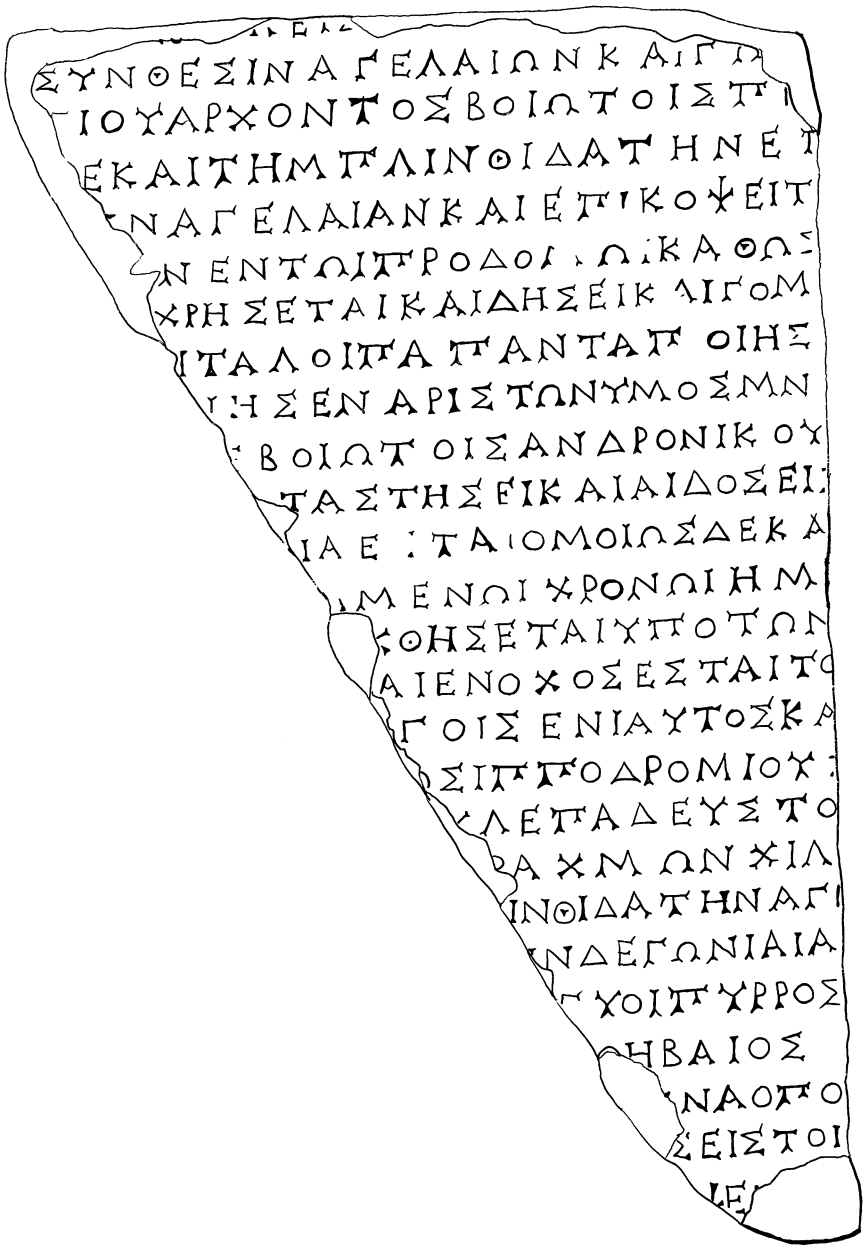

FIGURE 2 *Chaironeia Museum 256, side A; drawing*

FIGURE 3 *Chaironeia Museum 256, side B; photo*

FIGURE 4 *Chaironeia Museum 256, side B; drawing*

Manumission in Hellenistic Boeotia: New Considerations on the Chronology of the Inscriptions

Claire Grenet

1 Manumission in Boeotia: The Epigraphic Evidence

Manumission is a phenomenon well-attested in Boeotia through a corpus of 172 inscriptions. For the most part, these inscriptions are individual acts of manumission, engraved in order to make known the former slaves' new status. These manumissions mainly come from the western part of Boeotia. To date, seven Boeotian cities have provided such documents: Chaironeia (125 inscriptions), Lebadeia (6), Orchomenos (14), Koroneia (16), Thespiai (7), Thisbe (4) and Oropos (1).[1] These documents all belong to the Hellenistic period except for three manumissions from Thisbe, which date to the Roman Imperial period.

In Boeotia, slaves were generally freed through consecration. This procedure of manumission is known as early as the fifth century BC in the Greek world.[2] It is mainly attested, however, in Central Greece from the Hellenistic period, especially in Boeotia, but also in Delphi, Phocis (Daulis, Hyampolis, Stiris), West Locris (Physkeis), and Euboea (Histiaea), as well as in Epirus and Macedonia.[3] It is also attested in all the Boeotian cities mentioned in the first paragraph here, except (a) in Thespiai, where slaves were freed in the presence and under the protection of Asklepios (sometimes along with Apollo) but without being consecrated to them;[4] (b) perhaps in Oropos;[5] and (c) in Thisbe during the

1 References in Appendix 1.

2 See, e.g., in Laconia: Ducat 1990, pp. 173–194.

3 See Darmezin 1999; see also Mulliez 1992, pp. 31–44 (seven slave-dedications, all made by foreigners); Rousset 2006, pp. 349–379; Cabanes and Drini 2007; Chrysostomou and Panayotou 1993, *passim* (*BE* [1994] nos. 403, 408, 410); Petsas et al. 2000.

4 See Mulliez 2000, pp. 441–442. A Thespian manumission (*I.Thespiai* 214) indicates that the freedom of the freed slaves will be proclaimed by a herald after the death of the former master.

5 *I.Oropos* 329. The beginning of the manumission is lost. The freedman Moschos practiced incubation in the Amphiaraion, as he engraved his manumission on the orders of Amphiaraos and Hygieia (ll. 11–15: Μόσχος Μοσχίωνος Ἰουδαῖος | ἐνύπνιον ἰδὼν προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ | Ἀμφιαράου καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας καθ' ἃ συνέταξε | ὁ Ἀμφιάραος καὶ ἡ Ὑγίεια ἐν στήλῃι γράψαντα | ἀναθεῖναι πρὸς τῶι βωμῶι).

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Imperial period, to judge from a manumission which was proclaimed by the civic herald.[6] At least in Chaironeia, there were probably two distinct steps in the procedure of manumission, i.e. the manumission proper and the consecration, since two slave-dedications concern freedmen (ἀπελεύθερος).[7]

In this context consecration means that the slaves were freed and consecrated by their owner to a civic divinity,[8] thus becoming *hieroi* of this god, a status whose exact obligations remain somewhat unclear in Boeotia.[9] In fact, only one Boeotian document, the Lebadeian manumission *IG* VII 3083, states that the freedman should officiate in sacrifices to the gods to whom he was consecrated. This isolated clause does not indicate whether this duty was usual or exceptional. Moreover, the 'title' *hieros* only appears in manumission inscriptions, so one cannot conclude that it designates a legal status distinct from that of the freedmen.[10]

2 The Chronology of the Boeotian Manumission Inscriptions: New Developments

The bulk of the corpus of Boeotian manumissions belongs to the Hellenistic period, more precisely to the second century BC. Its maximum span extends

6 Pappadakis 1916, p. 262, no. 1: ἄρχοντος Φιλίππου | Παράμονος Δάμωνος καὶ | Σωτηρὶς Ἀφροδεισίο(υ) καὶ | Σωτήριχος Παραμόνου | ἠλευθέρωσαν Ἀφροδᾶν ο|ἰκέτην ἀνακηρύσσοντος [Φ]|[α]ρά[δ]ου τοῦ Νικοφάνους.

7 *IG* VII 3318, ll. 3–7: Ἀγαθοκ|λῆς Κάλλωνος ἀνα|τίθησι τὸν ἴδιον ἀπε|λεύθερον Δᾶον ἱε|ρὸν τῷ Σεράπει (*Agathokles son of Kallon consecrates his freed slave Daos as sacred to Serapis*); *IG* VII, 3360, ll. 2–7: Ἀλε|[ξίων] Ἀ[γ]νίαο Λε|[βαδ]ε[ὺ]ς ἀνατίθει|[τι τ]ὰν [ϝ]ιδίαν ἀπε|[λε]ύθερον α[ὐ]τῶ Εὐ[νίκα]|ν ἱερὰν τεῖ Σαράπι. See also *IG* VII (Darmezin 1999, no. 67) 3381: a woman consecrates a slave with the assistance of those who freed her, [παριόντων]| αὐτῆ τῶν ἀπελευθερωσάντων. On this question, see Darmezin, 1990, pp. 224, 241.

8 The consecration formula ἀνατίθημι ἱερόν (+ name of the divinity, in the genitive or dative case) is the most frequently used formula in Boeotia, although there are some variants. On these formulae, see Darmezin 1999, pp. 180–182. The divinities to whom slaves were consecrated vary from one city to another and within the same city: Artemis Ilithya, Asklepios (and Hygieia, once), Serapis, the Mother of the Gods, and maybe Dionysos in Chaironeia; Asklepios, Sarapis and Isis, the Mother of the Gods in Orchomenos; Zeus Basileus and Trophonios in Lebadeia; Herakles Charops and Serapis in Koroneia; Artemis Ilithya in Thisbe; Apollo and Asklepios as protectors and/or witnesses in Thespiai.

9 See Darmezin 1999, pp. 219–224; Petsas et al. 2000, p. 60.

10 In Chaironeia, several *hieroi* manumitted their own slaves: *IG* VII 3315, 3331, 3333, 3335, 3366–3367, 3374, 3377.

from the second half of the third century to the early first century BC,[11] with the exception of the manumission from Oropos. The latter document would be the earliest of the Boeotian corpus, since it is usually dated *c.* 300–250 BC. The presence of two Athenians among the five witnesses of the manumission, however, may indicate that it belongs to a period when Oropos was under Athenian control.[12] Regarding the other Boeotian manumissions, the traditional chronology remains vague in most cases, except for a manumission from Thespiai, which is dated to 225 or 224 BC.[13] Vagueness is due to the fact that the dating of the inscriptions is generally based on their script and language—and these are imprecise and fragile criteria.[14] In particular, it has been shown that, while the influence of *koine* in Boeotian epigraphy became noticeable toward the end of the third century, nevertheless the Boeotian dialect remained in use until after 150 BC.[15] Thus, language cannot be a reliable criterion, neither for the absolute chronology, as it has been defended by P. Roesch,[16] nor for the relative chronology, as we shall see in the case of the Chaironeian manumissions. However, there have been some attempts at clarifying and refining the chronology of the Boeotian manumissions. A. Schachter, for instance, has proposed to date the Koroneian manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops to *c.* 200–150 BC, on the basis of various pieces of evidence, whereas the first editor, N.G. Pappadakis, dated them from the early second century to the first century BC.[17] More recently, a new chronology has been proposed for the Chaironeian corpus, which was previously dated from the late third or early second century to the late second century BC.

11 This chronology can vary slightly from one scholar to another. Compare e.g. Albrecht 1978, pp. 40–43 and Darmezin 1999, pp. 27–105 (based on P. Roesch's chronology, see *infra*).

12 *I.Oropos* 329. On the periods of Athenian occupation of Oropos, see Habicht 2006, pp. 291–292.

13 *I.Thespiai* 217. On its dating, see *infra*.

14 For instance, Dittenberger 1892, p. 597 (Orchomenian manumissions), p. 615 (Chaironeian manumissions). On these criteria, see Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 282–283.

15 On the Boeotian dialect, see Buck 1955, p. 154; Vottéro 1993, pp. 82–83; also Müller 2005, pp. 97–99.

16 Roesch 1982, pp. 125, 399–400, believed that the Boeotian dialect disappeared from public epigraphy after 171 BC as a result of the dissolution of the Boeotian Koinon.

17 Schachter 1986, pp. 7–8, n. 3, *contra* Pappadakis 1916, pp. 217–235, 268–272. A. Schachter suggested a similar dating for the Chaironeian slave-dedications to Serapis: see Schachter 2007a, p. 368; he has kindly informed me, however, that he now believes that the Chaironeian manumissions written in dialect belong to the second third of the second century BC; see Schachter 2007b, p. 99 n. 25.

E.A. Meyer published a new dedication to Asklepios engraved on a limestone base from Chaironeia, and republished the six manumissions by consecration to Asklepios engraved on the same stone.[18] The monument was found in 1904 by G. Sotiriadis during excavations at the church of Hagia Paraskevi in the valley of Lykouressi, south-east of Chaironeia.[19] It has a molding on top of the front face and both sides and at the bottom of the same three faces. On its upper face, there is a large oval cavity and the remains of a rounded edge.

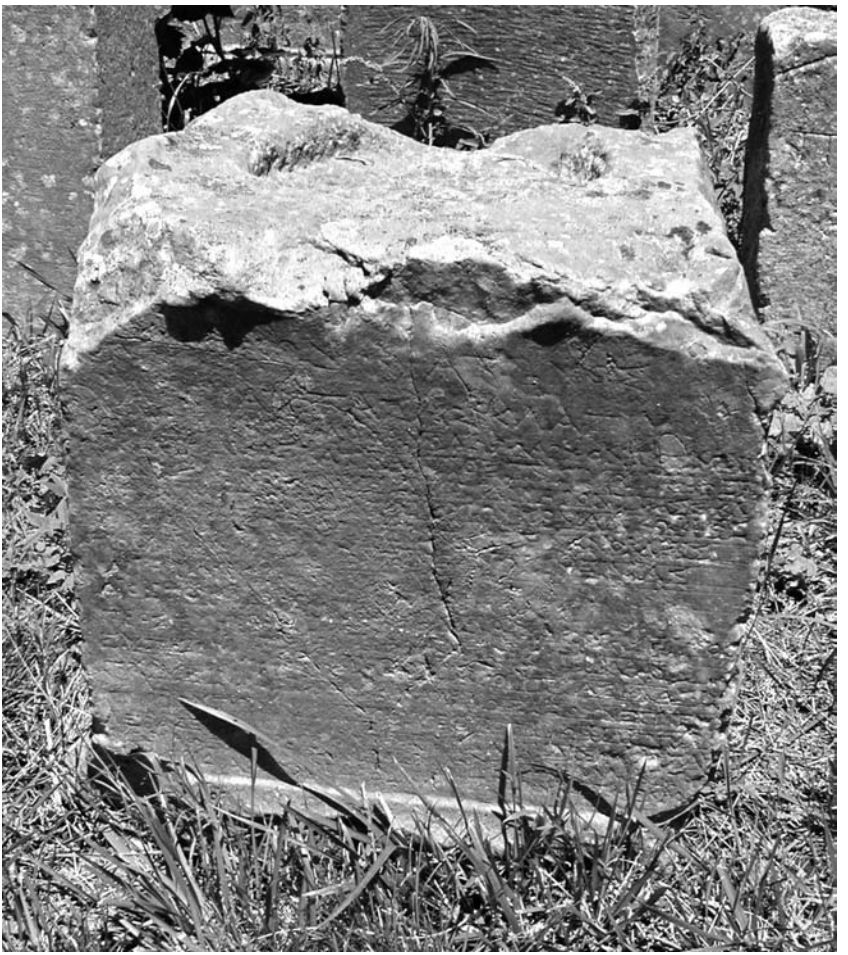

FIGURE 1 *SEG XLIX 506–511*

18 Meyer 2008.

19 Sotiriadis 1905, p. 118.

The front face of the stone carries the dedication to Asklepios and two manumissions by consecration to Asklepios; the left side carries three manumissions and the right side two further acts. L. Darmezin had already included the manumissions in her epigraphic collection;[20] only the dedication had been unknown before Meyer's publication. Meyer assumes that the dedicator, Aristion son of Kraton, made this dedication after a victory in a contest in honor of Asklepios, and she considers that this Aristion is the same man as a Chaironeian namesake who manumitted a slave at Delphi in 137–136 BC.[21] Accordingly she dates the six manumissions on the stone to the years around 140 or 135 BC, rightly considering that the dedication was the first text to be inscribed on the stone. The identification of Aristion son of Kraton has allowed Meyer to lower the traditional dating of all the Chaironeian manumissions by about half a century, since she supposes that the six slave dedications of the base are among the oldest documents of the corpus, an assertion with which I agree, as I shall explain further. But other evidence, in particular the diction of the inscriptions as well as prosopographical analysis, strongly refutes Meyer's chronology, which is only based on the doubtful identification of two homonymous Chaironeians. It therefore seems necessary to revisit the dating of the Chaironeian manumissions in order to give it a firmer footing. Subsequently, in light of my new chronological reconstuction, I shall re-examine the dates of the other Boeotian manumissions, for which the evidence, however, is insufficient for determining an absolute chronology for all the inscriptions. In fact, the other Boeotian manumissions are fewer in number. I do hope, however, that by the end of this study the reader will have a clearer picture of the chronological context of Boeotian manumissions in the Hellenistic period, especially since the Chaironeian inscriptions comprise the largest part of the Boeotian corpus.

20 Darmezin 1999, pp. 73–76, nos. 103–108. The inscriptions were to have been published first by J.M. Fossey and L. Darmezin in *Boeotia Antiqua* VII/VIII, a publication that never appeared.

21 Meyer 2008, p. 55, (a), restores the dedication as follows: Ἀριστίων Κράτωνος | δαμάττας Ἀσκλαπιῶ. I do not discuss this reading here, since it does not directly concern the chronology of the Chaironeian manumissions, but, following Knoepfler in *BE* (2009) no. 250, I strongly disagree with it. On the identification of Aristion son of Kraton, see Meyer 2008, p. 76. The Chaironeian namesake attested at Delphi manumitted a slave by sale, see *SGDI* 2191 (*CID* V 639): Ἄρχοντος Ὑβρία μηνὸς Ποιτροπίου, ἀπέδοτο Ἀριστίων Κρ[άτω]|νος Χαιρωναιεὺς τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον κτλ.

3 The Chronology of the Chaironeian Manumissions: A Reappraisal

The Relative Chronology of the Chaironeian Manumissions

All the Chaironeian manumissions are dated by the local archon, except in five cases.[22] None of the eponymous archons can be dated precisely,[23] but their number gives a good indication of the period of time covered by the Chaironeian corpus. So far, archons' names have been engraved on 111 occasions, but only in eighty-four instances have the names been completely or partially preserved. There are at least fifty different names, nineteen of which appear at least twice.[24] In principle, homonymous individuals can be considered as the same person mentioned several times during the same archonship, since the Boeotians usually distinguished homonymous archons, if they were roughly contemporary, by indicating the order of the successor. For instance, in Chaironeia, the archon Automenes 'the second' dates a military catalogue and a manumission by consecration to Artemis Ilithya; he comes after another

22 *IG* VII 3327, 3351, 3387, 3389; *SEG* XXVIII 446. The reason could be that the manumission happened under the same archonship as the previous act on the stone, although this explanation is not always satisfactory. See also *SEG* XLIX 510 = Meyer 2008, p. 68, (f), which is dated by the priest of Asklepios.

23 The only precisely dated Chaironeian archon from the Hellenistic period appears at the heading of a manumission made by two Chaironeians at Delphi, see Amandry 1942–1943, p. 74 no. 4, ll. 1–4: Ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς [Β]αβύλου, μη|νὸς Δαιδαφορίου, ἐν δὲ Χαιρωνεία ἄρ|χοντος Εὐνόμου, μηνὸς Ἀλαλκωμενεί|ου, ἀπέδοντο Μελησίας καὶ Εὐκράτης Νίκω|νος Χαιρωνεῖς κτλ. The double dating, in the Delphian and Boiotian calendars respectively, permits the dating of Eunomos' archonship to 146 BC, since Babylos, the Delphian archon, held his office in 146/5 BC. The manumission was made in the month of Daidaphorios, which is the fifth month in the Delphian calendar and corresponds to Alalkomenios, the last month of the Boiotian calendar (November–December). On Babylos' archonship, see Mulliez 2006, pp. 2243–2254.

24 Archons attested at least twice in Chaironeian manumissions: Alexion (*IG* VII 3366, 3369); Antigon (*IG* VII 3328, 3333); Aristion (Roesch and Fossey 1978a, nos. 7 and 9); Archedamos (*IG* VII 3312, 3314, 3356); Dexippos (*IG* VII 3305, 3332, 3345, 3362); Diokleides (*IG* VII 3353, 3372; 3365: Διοκλίδας); Epitimos (*IG* VII 3377, 3395: Ἐπίτ[ιμος]; Roesch and Fossey 1978a, no. 1); Euandros (*IG* VII 3323, 3378); Euboulos (*IG* VII 3372, 3396); Theodoros (*IG* VII 3344, 3349: Θιόδωρος; *IG* VII 3371, 3382); Kallikon (*IG* VII 3303, 3348); Kaphisias (*IG* VII 3325, 3354; 3373: [Καφισ]ίας); Kritolaos (*IG* VII 3358, 3359); Mnaseas (*IG* VII 3330; inv. no. 94); Nikon (*IG* VII 3346, 3364; 3350: [Νίκω]νος); Patron (*IG* VII 3318, 3326, 3355, 3363, 3367, 3374; inv. 94); Pouthinas (inv. 246; another unpublished manumission by consecration to Asklepios [limestone slab, no inventory number]); Samichos (*IG* VII 3341; 3342: Σάμ[ιχος]; *IG* VII 3317: [Σάμι?]χος); Philoxenos (*IG* VII 3324; *SEG* XLIX 509).

archon Automenes, whose name appears at the head of a military catalogue; the two catalogues follow each other on the stone.[25] If we assume that the eponymous archons of the manumissions follow each other year after year, the Chaironeian corpus covers a minimum period of about fifty years. If we add some thirty-five manumissions the headings of which were either lost or never engraved, plus (at least) seven slave-dedications to Asklepios that are still unpublished, and assume that all these documents were dated by new archons, we can infer that the corpus covers a period of ninety-two years.[26] Thus a span of about a century seems to be a reasonable one for the corpus of Chaironeian manumissions. In fact, several pieces of evidence tend to show the chronological proximity of the inscriptions, especially the mode of engraving, similar sequences of archons from one stone to another, and prosopographical links between texts. To a certain extent, these elements also allow us to establish the relative chronology of the manumissions.

First, the presence of multiple inscriptions on one stone is a well-attested phenomenon in the Chaironeian corpus. The stones—stelae, altars, cippi, bases, plaques, or marble seats—mainly come from the shrines of the divinities to whom slaves were dedicated.[27] About five manumissions are carved alone, i.e. one manumission per stone, whereas in one case we find a total of nineteen inscriptions on one stone.[28] The accumulation of several entries on a single

25 Slave-dedication to Artemis Ilithya: *SEG* XXVIII 449 (Αὐτομένιος τῶ δευτέρω); military catalogues: Kalliontzis 2007, p. 485 no. 3 (archon Automeneis) and p. 487 no. 4 (archon Automenes the second). On this practice, see Knoepfler 1977, p. 84; Knoepfler 1992, p. 434 no. 43. The Chaironeians may also have used the patronymic name to distinguish homonynous archons, see *IG* VII 3321–3322 (manumissions) and *IG* VII 3295–3296 (military catalogues). This was a common practice at Delphi, for instance.

26 Manumissions whose headings are lost: *IG* VII 3306, 3307, 3311, 3316, 3320, 3334–3340, 3360, 3361, 3368, 3370, 3383, 3385, 3389, 3393, 3394, 3397–3399, 3402–3406, inv. 3003. Manumissions whose heading was not engraved, see *supra*. The unpublished slave-dedications to Asklepios are engraved on two limestone slabs, which probably belonged to the sanctuary of Asklepios in Chaironeia. I could read two archons' names on one of these plaques, Pouthinas and Damagathos.

27 No Chaironeian manumission explicitly refers to the place where it was erected. But one inscription is dated by the priest of Asklepios (*SEG* XLIX 510; Meyer 2008, p. 68 [f]), so the procedure (or part of it) probably occurred in the sanctuary of Asklepios, and the stone was erected there. Such a location is certain in Orchomenos (de Ridder 1895, p. 157 no. 1, l. 2: ἐν τῦ ἱαρῦ τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ) and in Thespiai (*I.Thespiai* 214, ll. 23–24: κὰτ [τ]|ὰν στάλαν τὰν ἐν Ἀσκλαπ[ιεί]|οι).

28 Isolated manumissions: *IG* VII 3332, 3333, 3396, 3399, 3406 (I do not take into account inscriptions on fragments: *IG* VII 3400, 3402–3405; inv. 246 and inv. 3003). Multiple inscrip-

stone was probably meant to save money, since the inscription had a very practical purpose—to publicize the newly liberated slave's status—and not an honorary one. Moreover, the manumissions were not necessarily carved as soon as the slaves were dedicated: several unrelated texts could be engraved simultaneously, making it difficult to establish a chronology.[29] Finally, we should not assume that one side of a stone was necessarily filled up before another side began to be used. For example, the archon Archedamos dates two manumissions that have been carved on two different sides of the same stone.[30] Thus the inscribing order can be random, but only partially, because similar sequences of archons can also be observed from one side of a stone to another.[31] Comparison between sequences of archons strongly suggests that many manumissions occurred within a relatively short period of time and that most of the eponymous archons of these inscriptions probably follow each other from year to year. However, their order is certain in only a few cases. Generally speaking, the extant data do not enable the establishment of a relative chronology for the Chaironeian manumissions. Moreover, the language used in the documents is not a reliable criterion, as I have already mentioned. As far as one can judge from the surviving inscriptions, about sixty-three Chaironeian manumissions are written mainly or exclusively in the Boeotian dialect, and forty-eight mainly or exclusively in *koine*, the influence of *koine* being perceptible in many documents written in dialect, and vice versa. Of course, the chances are good that a dialectal text is earlier than one written in *koine*, but there are many exceptions to this principle, at least in the Chaironeian corpus. For instance, the archon Dexippos dates one manumission written in Boeotian dialect and three in *koine*, whereas the archon Patron dates one manumission written in dialect, another in a mixture of dialect and *koine*, and five others in *koine*.[32]

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tions on stones: *IG* VII 3356–3374 (up to ten manumissions on one side); see also *IG* VII 3348–3355 (fifteen manumissions following a dedication to Serapis, Isis, and Anubis, *IG* VII 3347).

29 For the same situation at Delphi, see Mulliez 1998, p. 824.

30 *IG* VII 3312 and 3314. Archedamos dates a third manumission which is engraved on another stone (*IG* VII 3356).

31 See Appendix 2, Table 1. For instance, we can suppose that Dexippos (*IG* VII 3305, 3345, 3362) was archon after Kallikon (*IG* VII 3303, 3348) and Theodoros (*IG* VII 3344, 3349, 3371), but before Patron (*IG* VII 3367), Nikon (*IG* VII 3346, 3350, 3364) and Dioklidas (*IG* VII 3365, 3372).

32 Archon Dexippos: *IG* VII 3305 (dialect); *IG* VII 3332, 3345, 3362 (koine). Archon Patron: *IG* VII 3355 (dialect); *IG* VII 3318 (mixture of dialect and koine); *IG* VII 3326, 3363, 3367, 3374 and inv. 94 (koine).

Prosopographical links among texts also prove that the Chaironeian manumissions belong to the same period: Milon son of Hippinos and his spouse, Telemachis daughter of Euboulos, dedicated slaves to Serapis in the archonships of Antigon and Kritolaos. One can suppose that both archons were in office during the same years, all the more so since the same Patron appears in the sequences of archons to which Antigon and Kritolaos belong.[33] Aristokles son of Kallikrates freed slaves under the archonships of Nikon and Amonias. These two were archons during the same time, an assumption that is confirmed by the fact that the archon Archedamos appears in the sequences to which they belong.[34] Samichos and Empedon were probably archons in the same years, since Kaphisodoros son of Hermaios and his spouse, Poliarchis daughter of Kraton, manumitted slaves in their archonships.[35] Damageitos son of Kaphisodoros consecrated two slaves to Serapis in the archonship of Dexippos; as a 'friend' (*philos*), he attended the slave-dedication that a woman, Kallo daughter of Timiadas, made when Anaxikrates was archon. So Dexippos and Anaxikrates were probably archons in the same period.[36] Mnason son of Menekleis gave his consent to the manumission made by his parents in the archonship of Mnasigenes; with his spouse, he dedicated two slaves in the archonship of Automenes 'the second'.[37] Kraton son of Aminias, who was polemarch under Automenes 'the second', freed a slave under the archonship of Kaphisias.[38] These identifications confirm once again the assumption that the span of the Chaironeian corpus cannot have been much longer than a century. It now remains to determine when manumissions began to be inscribed in Chaironeia.

33 Archon Antigon: *IG* VII 3328; archon Kritolaos: *IG* VII 3358. Compare *IG* VII 3321–3328 (archons: Zoilos son of Euandros, Diokles son of Simmias, Euandros, Philoxenos, Kaphisias, Patron, Antigon) and *IG* VII 3356–3365 (archons: Archedamos, Anchiaros, Kritolaos, Dexippos, Patron, Nikon, [Diokli]das).

34 Archon Nikon: *IG* VII 3364; archon Amonias: *IG* VII 3309. Compare *IG* VII 3356–3365 (*supra*; archon Archedamos in *IG* VII 3356) and *IG* VII 3309–3312 (archons: Amonias, Dionysos, Archedamos). Compare also *IG* VII 3356–3365 and *IG* VII 3341–3346 (same archons Dexippos and Nikon).

35 Archon Samichos: *IG* VII 3317 ([Sami]chos); archon Empedon: *IG* VII 3412.

36 Archon Dexippos: *IG* VII 3305; archon Anaxikrates: *IG* VII 3329.

37 Archon Mnasigenes: *SEG* XXVIII 446; archon Automenes 'the second': *SEG* XXVIII 449. See Appendix 2, fig. 2.

38 Kraton son of Aminias as polemarch: Kalliontzis 2007, p. 487, no. 4; Kraton as manumittor: *IG* VII 3325.

The Absolute Chronology of the Chaironeian Manumissions

The Chaironeian corpus can be anchored with an absolute chronology thanks to a piece of evidence that Elizabeth Meyer regrettably overlooked when she proposed to date the inscriptions from 135 to 40 BC.[39] In fact, almost all known Chaironeian slave-dedications have been made 'through the *synhedrion*' of the city, as specified by the final formula τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιόμενος διὰ τῶ σουνεδρίω κατ τὸν νόμον (in dialect) or τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενος διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου κατὰ τὸν νόμον (in *koine*).[40] Only two manumissions use the word *boule* (βουλή or βωλά in dialect) instead of *synhedrion* to designate the Council of the city,[41] whereas the Council is absent in ten manumissions, either because the inscription is an abridged copy of the original document,[42] or simply because the phraseology is different. For instance, of the three, if not four, manumissions that make mention of witnesses (ϝίστορες),[43] none contains the formula 'having made the

39 See Meyer 2008, p. 76: "If the dedication to Asklepios is the earliest inscription on the earliest stone in a sequence lasting at least fifty years (but probably at least twice that) and is dated *c.* 140, then the whole corpus of slave-dedications belongs not between *c.* 200 and 150, but more likely between 135 and 40 BC".

40 E.g. *IG* VII 3304: [Ἀ]λεξικράτιος ἀρχῶ, μεινὸς Δαματρίω πεντε|κηδεκάτη, Μικόλος Ἀριστογίτονος ἀντίθειτι | τὰν ϝιδίαν θρεπτὰν Εὐφροσόναν ἱαρὰν τεῖ Σαρά|πι, τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποϊόμενος διὰ τῶ σουνεδρίω κατ | τὸν νόμον ('In the archonship of Alexikrates, on the 15th day of the month of Damatrios, Mikolos son of Aristogiton consecrates his very own slave, Euphrosona, as sacred to Serapis, having made the consecration through the *synhedrion* according to the law').

41 *IG* VII 3349; *SEG* XXVIII 446. See Appendix 3.2 and 3.3 (inscriptions).

42 See *SEG* XLIX 508–511; *IG* VII 3331. All the manumissions engraved on the base *IG* VII 3321–3331 mention the involvement of the Council 'according to the law', except for *IG* VII 3327, where the law is mentioned, but the Council is lacking. The two slave-dedications *IG* VII 3327 and 3331 were likely made 'through the *synhedrion* according to the law' too.

43 *SEG* XXVIII 444–445; *SEG* XLIX 506 + Meyer 2008, p. 57, (b): the word [ϝίσ]τ[ο]ρες must be restored in l. 5 instead of [μά]ρτ[υ]ρες, which finds no parallel in Chaironeia; also maybe *SEG* XLIX 507 + Meyer 2008, p. 61, (c). E.A. Meyer restores the word [ϝίστορες] in l. 7 in this latter inscription. She claims that she can read the name Καλλύκριτο[ς], in the nominative case, at the end of the line (instead of Καλλικρίτω, according to the reading of J.M. Fossey and L. Darmezin). This restoration would imply that there are two separate lists of names in the document, one containing exclusively names in the genitive (the 'friends' of the owner Karais), the other (ll. 7 ff.), containing names in the nominative followed by patronyms in the genitive (the witnesses of the manumission). This is plausible, although it cannot be confirmed on the stone, nor on the drawing (Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Institut Fernand-Courby, no. 501152. I thank L. Rabatel and R. Bouchon for having checked this reading for me). See inscription in Appendix 3.1.

consecration through the *synhedrion* according to the law'. Witnesses and the Council never occur in the same manumission.[44]

The involvement of the *synhedrion* in the procedure of manumission constitutes an important *terminus post quem* for the dating of the Chaironeian slave-dedications. In his research on the institutions of the Euboean *poleis*, D. Knoepfler convincingly showed that the replacement of the *boule* by the *synhedrion* in Eretrian and Chalcidian inscriptions occurred in 167 BC, as a result of the reforms imposed by Rome on the Euboean cities at the end of the Third Macedonian War. He also put forward the hypothesis that the institution of local *synhedria* was introduced at the same time in the Boeotian city-states.[45] These reforms may have been identical to those carried out in Macedonia at the end of the war. Livy mentions that the Romans, having divided the realm of Perseus into four districts, established annually elected magistrates and '*senatores quos* synhedros *vocant*', who were in charge of public affairs.[46] C. Müller has been the first to confirm the date of the reform of the Council in the Boeotian cities, on the basis of prosopography:[47] Praxilleis son of Aischriondas, who appears as a polemarch at the head of a military catalogue under the federal archonship of Athanias, between 180 and 175 BC,[48] would be the same man as a namesake, who is mentioned as the secretary of the college of the polemarchs in a proxeny decree for a Roman citizen.[49] Since the proxeny decree was adopted on the proposal of the *archontes* and the *synhedroi* of Akraiphia, the

44 *IG* VII 3376 seems to be an exception, since it mentions the involvement of the *synhedrion* and witnesses. The manumittor comes from Panopeus, but this does not account for the presence of witnesses, since in two other manumissions, manumittors from Lebadeia dedicate their slaves 'through the Council according to the law', but no witnesses are mentioned (*IG* VII 3312, 3360). On the other hand, the manumission *IG* VII 3376 is bound to the refund of a loan (*eranos*) contracted by the manumittor: the freed slave will have to pay it off in order to be free. In this specific case, witnesses may have been required. For similar cases, see Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach 1904, pp. 262–270.

45 Knoepfler 1990, pp. 493–497; Knoepfler 2001, p. 416.

46 Livy 45.17.1–2; 18.1–8; 45.29; 45.32.2–5: *'pronuntiatum, quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos* synhedros *vocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio res publicae administrarentur* (…)'.

47 Müller 2005 (note 15 *supra*).

48 Keramopoullos 1936, p. 43, no. 220 (right col.), ll. 17–27 (military catalogue); on the federal archonship of Athanias, see Étienne and Knoepfler 1976, pp. 318, 350.

49 *IG* VII 4127, ll. 2–4: γραμματίδδοντος Πραξίλλιος Ἠσχρ⟨ι⟩ώνδαο προξ[ενίη] | [τὺ ἄρχοντες κὴ τὺ σ]ούνεδρυ ἔλεξαν Γάϊον Ὀκτάιον Τίτου Ῥωμεῖον π̣[ρόξενον] | [εἶμεν κτλ.]. P. Perdrizet first identified the two Akraiphians, see Perdrizet 1899, p. 204.

synhedrion probably replaced the *boule* after the federal archonship of Athanias, and even more probably after the dissolution of the Boeotian *Koinon* in 171 BC, and, at the latest, at the end of the 160s, considering that Praxilleis could have been active in Akraiphia over a period of ten or fifteen years. This identification would then seem to support the chronology defended by D. Knoepfler.[50]

Two other identifications confirm the date of 167 BC for the institution of local *synhedria* in Boeotia. First, Amphikles son of Philoxenos, a Delian poet, was awarded proxeny by Oropos at some point after 150 BC, according to V. Petrakos, the editor of the inscription.[51] This Delian is likely to be the same man as Amphikles son of Philoxenos from Rhenaea, who is honored by the Athenians of Delos in 165/4 BC.[52] The new political situation of Delos at the end of the Third Macedonian War probably explains the change of the ethnic. When the Athenians took possession of Delos, at the end of 167 BC or in the early 166 BC, the small neighbouring island of Rhenaea, which had belonged to Delos since the first half of the third century, regained its autonomy, so that the ethnic *Rhenaieus* (Ῥηναιεύς) reappeared in Delian inscriptions after 167 BC. In other words, the poet Amphikles, who had been considered to be a Delian until 167 BC, became again a Rhenaean.[53] The proxeny decree from Oropos should be about ten years earlier than the honorific decree from Delos: a date before 167 BC seems likely. The *boule* still existed at that time in Oropos, since the proxeny decree for Amphikles was adopted by the *boule* and the *demos* of Oropos.[54] The identification of Amphikles of *I.Oropos* 51 with Amphikles of

50 This identification has been rejected by Schachter 1986, pp. 96–100, who takes the two Praxilleis to have been different persons, one the grandfather of the other. C. Müller, however. defended her position persuasively once again in the last international conference on Boeotian studies in Livadia, in September 2010.

51 *I.Oropos* 211: 2 εἶπεν· προβεβουλευμένον εἶναι αὐτῶι πρὸς τ[ὴν βουλὴν] | καὶ τὸν δῆμον· ἐπειδὴ Ἀμφικλῆς Φιλοξένου Δήλιος κτλ.

52 Durrbach 1921, no. 78; *I.Délos* 1497, ll. 26–27: ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσαι | τε Ἀμφικλῆν Φιλοξένου Ῥηναέα κτλ. The decree was adopted when Pelops was archon in Athens (165/4 BC). It is the oldest known decree from the Athenian clerouchs, see Vial 1984, p. 3; Habicht 2006, pp. 272–275. The identification, which was proposed by Roussel 1916, pp. 1–3, 17–18, has been generally accepted: Durrbach 1921, p. 123; Couilloud 1974, p. 67 n. 1; Reger 1994, pp. 71–99 (*SEG* XLIV 401); and recently D. Knoepfler, *BE* (2010) no. 315.

53 The Delians were expelled from their island a few years later. That is the reason why the ethnic Δήλιος is still mentioned in inscriptions in the first years of Athenian domination: see e.g. *I.Délos* 2071, 2116, 2117; Couilloud 1974, pp. 66–67.

54 *I.Oropos* 211, ll. 4–5: δε[δόχθαι]| τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῶι δήμωι· Ἀμφικλῆν Φιλοξένου Δήλιον ἐπαινέσαι κτλ.

I.Délos 1497 suggests that the *synhedrion* replaced the *boule* in Oropos in 167 BC, and the same probably happened in the rest of Boeotia.

Another prosopographical identification supports this hypothesis. A proxeny decree from Aitolian Kallipolis honors Kallippidas son of Thoinarchos from Chaironeia in 170/69 BC.[55] The restoration of the patronymic is confirmed by an unpublished Chaironeian manumission that I was able to decipher a few years ago.[56] The owner, Kallippidas son of Thinarchos (Καλλιππίδας Θινάρχω), dedicates his slave Timon to Asklepios 'through the *synhedrion* according to the law'. There is no doubt that the *proxenos* and the manumittor are the same person: Θίναρχος is the dialectal form of Θοίναρχος. Thus, the slave-dedication can reasonably be dated to the second quarter of the second century BC, possibly several years after the proxeny decree was adopted. This dating can be further confirmed by the following identifications. Kallippidas son of Thoinarchos freed his slave under the archonship of Pouthinas. The same archon dates another slave-dedication made by Nikon son of Eukrates.[57] Another Nikon son of Eukrates from Chaironeia gives his consent to a manumission made by his father and his uncle at Delphi at the end of 146 BC, under the archonship of Babylos at Delphi and Eunomos in Chaironeia.[58] If the two Nikons, sons of Eukrates. are the same person, the archon Pouthinas, who dates the manumission made by Kallippidas and the one made by Nikon in Chaironeia, cannot be dated many years before 146 BC, since Nikon is also mentioned in the Delphic manumission where his father appears to be still alive. The archonship of Pouthinas cannot be dated too late in the second half of the second century BC either, and, in any case, not after 140 BC, because it would be difficult

55 Rousset 2006, p. 391 no. 4, ll. 1–6: [Ἀγαθᾶι τύ]χαι. Στραταγέοντος Ἀγε|[λάου, ἐν δὲ Κ]αλλιπόλει ἀρχόντων Πα|[....$^{ca.8-9}$.....], Πολεμαίου, Νι^{v}κιάδα, Καλλι|[πολῖται] ἔδωκαν Καλλιππίδαι Θοι|[νάρχου] Χαιρωνεῖ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγονοῖς | [προξ]ενίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κτλ.

56 The inscription has been cut on a limestone slab with no inventory number.

57 Fragment of an unpublished manumission, listed with no. 246 in the inventory of the Museum of Chaironeia. According to Michel Feyel (in the *Archives Feyel*, French School at Athens), l. 1 (fragmentary) reads Ι̣ουθίναο ἄ[- - -], whereas the name of the owner in ll. 4–5 is Νίκων Εὐκρά|τιος ἀντίθειτι etc. Feyel believed that the stone came from Koroneia, without stating why. The reason may have been that an archon Pouthinas dated a Koroneian slave-dedication to Herakles Charops (*SEG* XXVIII 455); prosopography, however, suggests a Chaironeian origin.

58 See Amandry 1942–1943, p. 74 no. 4, ll. 4–11: (...) ἀπέδοντο Μελησίας καὶ Εὐκράτης Νίκω|νος Χαιρωνεῖς, συνευδοκεόντων καὶ τῶν | υἱῶν αὐτῶν Νίκωνος τοῦ Μελησία καὶ Νίκω|νος τοῦ Εὐκράτεος, τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Πυθί|ωι σῶμα γυναικεῖον, ἅι ὄνομα Ῥόδα, τὸ γέ|νος Σαρματίν, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, καὶ ἄλλο [ἀ]ν|δρεῖον ἐνδογενὲς, ᾧ ὄνομα Ζώπυρος, τιμᾶς ἀργυρίου | μνᾶν τεσσάρων, κτλ. On the date of this inscription, see *supra* n. 23.

to assume that Kallippidas son of Thoinarchos, who was awarded proxeny in 170/69 BC, manumitted a slave more than thirty years later.[59] So it seems reasonable to assume that Pouthinas was in office at the end of the 160s or in the 150s. One could also suppose that the two Nikons sons of Eukrates were a grandfather and his grandson. Then it would be still more likely that Pouthinas was archon in the 160s rather than in the 150s or later. In that time, the *synhedrion* had replaced the *boule* in Chaironeia, as proved by the slave-dedications made by Kallippidas and Nikon 'through the *synhedrion* according to the law'. By and large, the two epigraphic attestations of Kallippidas son of Thoinarchos suggest that the Council's reform took place in Boeotia before the late 160s. What historical event other than the political settlement of the cities of Central Greece at the end of the Third Macedonian War could better explain the institution of local *synhedria* and their appearance in Boeotian epigraphy? Consequently, all the Boeotian manumissions that mention either the *synhedrion* in the description of the process or *synhedroi* in any other clause must be dated after 167 BC. In Chaironeia the *synhedrion* is mentioned in 107 manumissions,[60] a number that corresponds to something between forty-five and seventy-nine archonships, depending on whether we take lost or unrecorded archons' names to be those of new archons. The largest part of the Chaironeian corpus is later than 167 BC and extends to the last quarter of the second century BC at least, and probably to the early 80s BC.

Now, one has to determine the date of the Chaironeian manumissions that mention either the involvement of the *boule* instead of the *synhedrion*,[61] or private witnesses without any reference to the Chaironeian Council.[62] Are these variants simple formalities, or do they reveal different procedural stages in Chaironeia? To begin with, the mention of the *boule* is probably not a significant variant, since some phraseological uncertainty may have arisen when a reference to the *synhedrion* became the rule in Chaironeian acts of manumission, soon after the *synhedria* replaced local *boulai* in Boeotian cities. This should be the case with a manumission by consecration to Artemis Ilithya (*SEG* XXVIII 446), which is carved on a limestone cippus with eight other manumissions.[63]

59 Thus the chronology of the Chaironeian manumissions proposed by E.A. Meyer (135–40 BC) can be definitively dismissed.

60 Taking into account fragmentary documents where the mention of the *synhedrion* can be restored.

61 *IG* VII 3349, l. 4–5; *SEG* XXVIII 446, ll. 7–9.

62 *SEG* XXVIII 444–445; *SEG* XLIX 506 and maybe 507; Meyer 2008, p. 57, (b), and p. 61, (c).

63 Limestone cippus: Roesch and Fossey 1978a (*SEG* XXVIII 444–452). See Appendix 2, fig. 2.

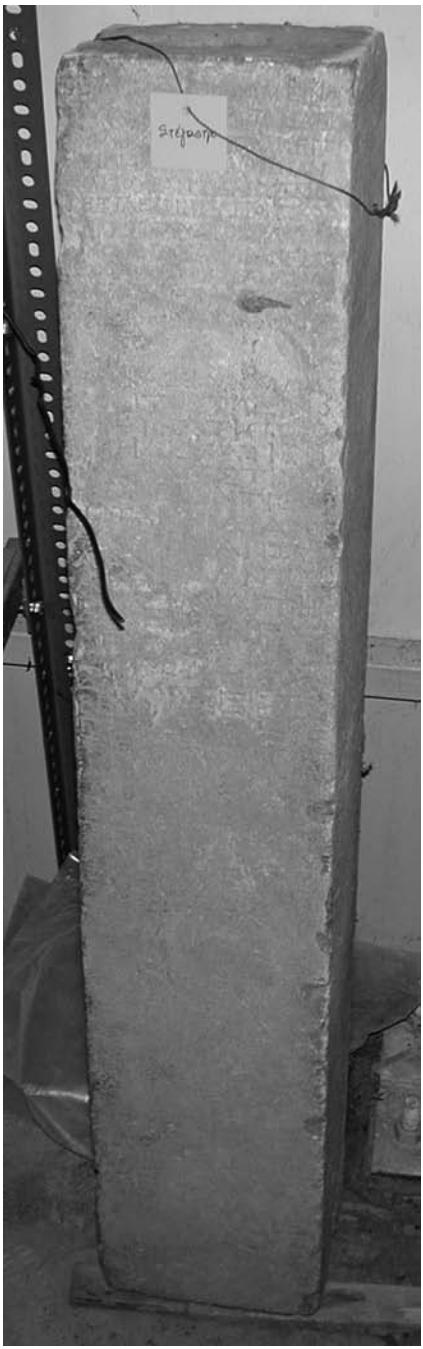

FIGURE 2 *SEG XXVIII 446*

These inscriptions show a coherent change of wording from one text to another. The first two manumissions on side A are made before private witnesses only. The third manumission on the same side is made through the involvement of the *boule*, and the six remaining acts, on sides A and B, are made through the involvement of the *synhedrion*. The chronological sequence of these manumissions seems to be confirmed by the prosopographical links that can be detected in the texts on the two sides of the stone. On side A, Mnason son of Menekleis gives his consent to a manumission made by his parents in the archonship of Mnasigenes (*SEG* XXVIII 447). On side B, the same Mnason and his wife consecrate two slaves in the archonship of Automenes 'the second' (*SEG* XXVIII 449). It seems therefore likely that these two slave-dedications belong to the same period and are subsequent to the first three inscriptions of side A.

The mention of the *boule* instead of the *synhedrion* could also be due to an error of the writer of the document. This may well be the problem in the case of a manumission that dates to the archonship of Thiodoros (*IG* VII 3349). This document is inscribed on the front face of a small limestone cippus, which also bears a dedication to Serapis, Isis, and Anubis, and two other manumissions by consecration to Serapis.[64] *IG* VII 3349 mentions the *boule*, whereas the two other manumissions, *IG* VII 3348 and 3350, mention the *synhedrion*. An inscribing error in *IG* VII 3349 is possible, since it is unlikely that confusion in vocabulary lasted more than a few months or a year after the Council's reform. Moreover, the eponymous archon Thiodoros is probably the same man as the archon Theodoros, who appears in three slave-dedications made through the *synhedrion*, as proven by the similar sequences of archons to which these two supreme magistrates belong.[65] But, whatever hypothesis we decide to put forward, it seems almost certain that the slave-dedications made through the *boule* are later than the Council's reform. In conclusion, all the Chaironeian manumissions made through the Council are later than 167 BC and these documents cover a period from about fifty to eighty years or slightly longer.[66]

64 *IG* VII 3347 (dedication) and 3348–3350 (manumissions). See Appendix 3.3.

65 Archon Thiodoros: *IG* VII 3349; archon Theodoros: *IG* VII 3344, 3371, 3382. The word συνέδριον is restored in *IG* VII 3344. Archons' sequences: see Appendix 2, Table 1.

66 In addition to the two manumissions made through the *boule* (*IG* VII 3349 and *SEG* XXVIII 446), two other archonships belong to the same time: the archon Eunomos appears in the aforementioned Delphic manumission (Amandry 1942–1943, p. 74, no. 4), and the archon Euboiskos is mentioned in the *paramone* clause of a fragmentary manumission

On the other hand, the mention of private witnesses in three, if not four, acts raises the issue of possible developments in the procedure of manumission by consecration during the second century BC. Prosopography, which links together some of these inscriptions, allows us to date them early in the second century BC, along with the other manumissions engraved on the same stones.[67] Philoxenos son of Xenon, a priest of Asklepios who dates a slave-dedication to Asklepios, could be the same as the Boeotian citharist Philoxenos who won at the Thespian *Mouseia* in the years 210–204 BC.[68] Although this identification remains uncertain, since Philoxenos and Xenon are quite common names, the manumission could be dated to the first two decades of the second century BC. Xenotimos son of Philippos from Lebadeia gave his consent to another slave-dedication to Asklepios made by his mother, Karais daughter of Empedon; he is also recorded as a *proxenos* of Delphi in 186 BC, so the manumission is probably dated to the first quarter of the second century BC.[69] Ol(i)oumpichos son of Andrias attended as a 'friend' (φίλος) a third slave-dedication to Asklepios: he is mentioned as the *kyrios* of his spouse, Anaxo daughter of Kallikron, who consecrated a slave to Artemis Ilithya, and at the same time as a witness (ϝίστωρ) of this same manumission.[70] The mention of Ol(i)oumpichos provides a solid chronological link between the two series of slave-dedications to Asklepios and Artemis Ilithya. Two other witnesses, Mition son of Archedamos and Dionousios son of Kaphisodoros, attended the manumission made by Anaxo. Dionousios is probably the same man as a Chaironeian namesake who appears

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from Chaironeia (*IG* VII 3391, ll. 5–7: παρμείνασαν | τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ὅστις κα μετ' Εὐβο|ΐσκον ἄρχει; 'on condition that she remains with [them] during the archonship that begins after Euboiskos').

67 The two sets of inscriptions are the six slave-dedications to Asklepios reedited by Meyer 2008 and the nine slave-dedications to Artemis Ilithya engraved on a cippus. See Appendix 2, fig. 1–2; texts in Appendix 3.1 and 3.2.

68 Manumission: *SEG* XLIX 510; Meyer 2008, p. 68, (f). This inscription is obviously an abbreviated copy of the original document, since neither witnesses nor the involvement of the *synhedrion* are mentioned. Victory lists: *I.Thespiai*, 161 (under the federal archonship of Lykinos), ll. 15–16: κιθαριστὴς | [Φιλ]όξενος Ξένωνος Βοιώτιος; *I.Thespiai*, 163, l. 10–11. On the archonship of Lykinos (*c.* 209 BC), see Knoepfler 1996, pp. 156–160.

69 Manumission: *SEG* XLIX 507; Meyer 2008, p. 61, (c), with the restitution [ϝίστορες] l. 7. List of *proxenoi*: *Syll.*^{3} 585, ll. 168–172: ἄρχοντος Νικοβούλου, μηνὸς Βου|κατίου, βουλευόντων τὰμ πρώταν ἑξά|μηνον Δεξικράτεος, Εὐκλείδα, Ξενο|στράτου· Καφισόδωρος Μνασέα, Ξενότι|μος Φιλίππου, Θράσων Μύτωνος, Λεπαδεῖς.

70 Slave-dedication to Asklepios: *SEG* XLIX 511; Meyer 2008, p. 68, (g). Slave-dedication to Artemis Ilithya: *SEG* XXVIII 444.

in an Orchomenian inscription as one of the trustees of two financial agreements concluded between Orchomenos and a creditor from Elateia, in the late third century BC.[71] According to this identification, the slave-dedication to Artemis Ilithya (*SEG* XXVIII 444) cannot be dated too late in the second century BC. A dating in the first two decades of the second century BC seems quite reasonable, both for this manumission and for the one in which Olioumpichos son of Andrias appears as a 'friend'. So, according to prosopography, the six manumissions by consecration to Asklepios and the nine others to Artemis Ilithya belong to the first half of the second century BC. The involvement of the Council in the procedure requires a dating after 167 BC for all the slave-dedications to Artemis Ilithya except for the two (*SEG* XXVIII 444/445), which mention witnesses. Prosopography shows that the four slave-dedications made in the presence of witnesses took place as early as the first quarter of the second century; this is likely to have been *before* the Third Macedonian War which brought about serious political consequences for Boeotia, including the dissolution of the Boeotian *Koinon* and the institution of local *synhedria*. To date, these four documents are likely the oldest manumissions in the Chaironeian corpus.

As a consequence, the dedication to Asklepios made by Aristion son of Kraton, which was engraved before the six slave-dedications to Asklepios, dates from the early second century.[72] In other words, this Aristion cannot be the same man as the Chaironeian namesake who freed a slave at Delphi in 137/6 BC:[73] one is the grandfather of the other. These two men belong to a Chaironeian family that is epigraphically well-attested. Kraton son of Aristion, the father of our dedicator, is recorded in a list of Epidaurian *theorodokoi* and *proxenoi* from the late third century BC.[74] As a polemarch (perhaps), he also proposed a proxeny decree passed by his city in honor of seven Corinthian

71 *IG* VII 3171, ll. 6–11: ἀνελόμενος τὰς | συγγράφως τὰς κειμένας παρ Εὔ|φρονα καὶ Φιδίαν καὶ Πασικλεῖν | καὶ Τιμόμειλον Φωκεῖας καὶ Δαμο|τέλειν Λυσιδάμω καὶ Διωνύσιον | Καφισοδώρω Χηρωνεῖα κτλ; see Migeotte 1984, pp. 48–53, no. 12. This episode is dated *c.* 228–210 BC. The identification of the two Dionousioi proposed here may support the low limit of this chronological range.

72 This is consistent with the letter-forms of the inscription, especially the A (slightly curving bar), the Ω (arched bridge) and the open Σ; see also D. Knoepfler, *BE* (2009) no. 250.

73 *SGDI* 2191 (*CID* V 639).

74 *SEG* XI 414, l. 32; Perlman 2000, pp. 192–194, cat. E.5, VI and 166 (identification). This document is certainly dated to the last quarter of the third century BC, since the Theban Neon son of Askondas, who was hipparch of the Boeotian confederacy in 227 BC (Polyb. 20.5.7–11), is also recorded as *theorodokos* and *proxenos*.

individuals. This unpublished decree[75] should be dated to the early second century BC, assuming that one of the *proxenoi*, Hermogeneis son of Eubolidas (Ἑρμογένεις Εὐβωλίδαο), is the same man as another Corinthian, Hermogeneis son of (- - -)idas, who is recorded in a list of *proxenoi* from Aitolian Thermos around 185/4 BC.[76] Finally, Kraton son of Aristion is the same man as the namesake who appears as a 'friend' (φίλος) in one of the aforementioned slave-dedications to Asklepios (*SEG* XLIX no. 511). This identification confirms once again the dating of these manumissions to the early second century BC.

In conclusion, manumissions were inscribed in Chaironeia beginning in the first quarter of the second century BC, perhaps the late 190s or 180s, and certainly not only after the middle of the second century. This dating tallies well with the picture of manumissions elsewhere in Central Greece. For instance, acts of manumission began to be engraved from 201/200 BC at Delphi, and at about the same time in several cities of Phocis and West Locris. But the bulk of the Chaironeian manumissions—more than one hundred documents—is later than 167 BC, since the local *synhedrion* is directly involved in the procedure, and extends to the early first century BC. To date, no Chaironeian manumission seems to be later than the Mithridatic War, that is to say later than 88–86 BC as regards Boeotia.[77] So the Mithridatic War could be the *terminus ante quem* of the Chaironeian manumission corpus, even if slaves probably continued to be manumitted in Chaironeia during the following centuries, as happened in Thisbe or Delphi and other Phocian cities.[78] Now, does the same chronology apply to the other Boeotian manumissions from the Hellenistic period? I will now reconsider the dating of these inscriptions.

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75 I owe this information to Y. Kalliontzis who is preparing the *editio princeps*. Several inscriptions are engraved on this base (inv. no. 2955 in the Museum of Chaironeia), most notably a dedication to Artemis Eukleia and at least one military catalogue and two proxeny decrees.

76 *IG* IX.1², I, 32, ll. 19–20: Ἑρ̣μογ̣ένε̣ι̣ [- - -]|[.]ίδα Κ̣ο̣ρινθίωι.

77 The Battle of Chaironeia took place in spring 86 BC and the Battle of Orchomenos the next summer: see Plut. *Vit. Sull.*, 11–20. On the Mithridatic War, see Sherwin-White 1984, chs. 5 and 6; Kallet-Marx 1995, pp. 279–282; on its consequences in Boeotia, see Knoepfler 1997. The war constitutes a serious break in the history of Boeotia as well as in its epigraphy: the number of Boeotian inscriptions dramatically decreased in the first century BC.

78 Manumissions in Thisbe in the third century AD: see Appendix 1. Manumissions at Delphi from the first century BC to the late first century AD: e.g. *SGDI* 2200 (*CID* V 105), *c.* 70–60 BC; *F.Delphes* III.4 480B (*CID* V 106), *c.* 80–60 BC; *F.Delphes* III.6 58 (*CID* V 1180), first century BC. Manumissions in Phocis in the second century AD, e.g. in Hyampolis: *IG* IX.1 86, and in Tithoreia: *IG* IX.1 188–194, 198–199.

4 The Chronology of the Boeotian Manumission Corpus

Thisbe

Regarding the single Hellenistic manumission from Thisbe, neither diction nor prosopography provide any precise indication of its dating. On the basis of general criteria such as language and paleography, scholars date it to the second century BC or the late third–early second century BC.[79]

Thespiai

Regarding the Thespian manumissions,[80] prosopography suggests a chronology earlier than that of the Chaironeian slave-dedications. At least one document (*I.Thespiai* 217) can be dated to the second half of the third century BC, more precisely to 225 or 224 BC: the eponymous archon Xenokritos is probably indentical with the homonymous archon who appears in the lending transaction between Nikareta of Thespiai and Orchomenos, a year or two before the federal archonship of Onasimos (223 BC).[81] In another manumission, Epitimos son of Samichos is responsible, along with his sons, for proclaiming the freedom of seven slaves after the death of their former owner, Eutychos son of Kallikrates, at the grave of the latter.[82] A namesake appears in a list of names from Thespiai, which is dated to the second half or the end of the third century BC;[83] the latter date is more convincing because of prosopography. A Thespian on this list, Theirarchos son of Kanas (col. A l. 19: Θείραρχος Κάναο), also appears as a conscript in a military catalogue under the archonship of Xenokritos (225 or 224 BC).[84] The father of Hiareiadas son of Theogiton (col. B, l. 8: Ἰαρειάδας Θεογίτονος) was hipparch *c.* 225–200 BC,[85] and Phaeinos son of Torteas (col.

79 *IG* VII 2228: Ἐμπέδωνος ἄρχοντος· | Εὐανδρίδας Πασικρίτα | Δωπύραν Ἀρτάμιδι Εἰ|⟨λ⟩ειθείη ἰαρὰν εἶμεν πα[ρ]||μείνασαν ἄως κα δώωνθι Ε|ὐανδρίδας κὴ Πασικρίτα·| μεὶ ἐσσεῖμεν δὲ ἀδικεῖ|ση μειθενί. On the dating, see Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach 1904, p. 242 no. 8; Albrecht 1978, p. 43; Darmezin 1999, p. 105 no. 140 (second century BC); *LGPN* III.B (late third–early second century BC).

80 See references in Appendix 1.

81 Loan affair: *IG* VII, 3172, l. 59, 74; see Migeotte 1984, no. 13. On the federal archon Onasimos, see Knoepfler 1992, p. 469 no. 100. Xenokritos also dates a military catalogue (*IG* VII 1749; *I.Thespiai* 100).

82 *IG* VII 1780 (*I.Thespiai* 214), l. 13–14, 19–25.

83 *I.Thespiai* 97, col. A, l. 4: Ἐπίτιμος Σαμίχω. P. Roesch dated this inscription *c.* 240–225 BC. *LGPN* III.B indicates *c.* 225–220 BC.

84 *IG* VII 1749 (*I.Thespiai* 100), l. 5.

85 *IG* VII 2466 (*I.Thespiai* 202), l. 2: Θεογίτων Ἰαρ(ί)δαο ἴ(ππ)α(ρχ)ος (dedication after a victory

B, l. 13: Φαεῖνος Τορτέαο) was ilarch in Thespiai *c.* 210 BC.[86] These three identifications suggest that the list dates from the very end of the third century BC and perhaps from the early second century BC, unless one assumes that all the namesakes are grandfathers and grandsons. Unfortunately, the exact nature of this document is unknown. The first editor, A.D. Keramopoullos, considered that it was a military catalogue whose heading had been lost,[87] but prosopography seems to refute this hypothesis. Could it be a casualty list? In that case, the manumission should perforce predate it. Mnasigenes son of Thedoros appears in the same manumission as Epitimos son of Samichos: he is one of the four witnesses of the act.[88] He is probably the same man as Mnasigeneis son of Theodoros who appears in a lease from Thespiai: Mnasigeneis renews his lease for two parcels and assists two children who renew their own lease (*c.* 210–200 BC).[89] Thus, the epigraphic attestations of Epitimos son of Samichos and Mnasigenes son of The(o)doros suggest that the aforementioned manumission dates no earlier than the late third century BC. Finally, Kapion son of Kallistratos, who features as a witness in an act of manumission, could be the same man as Kapion son of Kallistrotos, who appears in the aforementioned list of names from Thespiai.[90]

To sum up, the extant evidence permits us to fix the dates of just three manumissions.[91] Only one of them (*I.Thespiai* 217) can be anchored to an absolute chronology (225 or 224 BC). The two others, which are linked by prosopography with a list of names and a land lease from the late third century BC, may date from the same period or from the early second century BC. The second hypothesis seems plausible, especially since one of these manumissions mentions μάρτυρες (in *koine*) instead of ϝίστορες (in dialect), which could indicate a later date.[92] The dating of the other Thespian manumissions relies only on lin-

in the Pamboiotia). Pharadas son of Euchoros, who appears as ilarch in this dedication, also appears as gymnasiarch in a list of Thespian magistrates, *c.* 210 BC or later: *I.Thespiai* 84, ll. 48–49 (on the date of this document, see Knoepfler 1992, p. 468 no. 98).

86 *I.Thespiai* 84, l. 17 (list of magistrates).

87 Keramopoullos 1936, p. 24 no. 191.

88 *I.Thespiai*, 214, l. 25–28: ϝίστορες Μνασιγένες Θεδώ[ρω],| Θέδωρος Μνασιγένεος, | Δαμάτριος Δάμωνος, Κλειτ[ί]|δας Σαμίχω.

89 Colin 1897, pp. 553–568, no. 2; *I.Thespiai* 56, l. 19 (πένπτον Μνασιγένεις Θεοδώρω κτλ.), l. 23, 32–33, 36.

90 Manumission: *I.Thespiai*, 213, l. 18–22: Μάρτυρες· ὁ Ἀσκλαπιός, Πίθθες | Ἀριστοκράτεος, Καπίων Καλλιστ|ράτω, Λακόων Κράτετος, Διονύ|σιος Καλλίαο, Καλλίας Κλέωνος,| Σωκράτεις Δαμενέτω. List of names: *I.Thespiai*, 97, col. A, l. 1: Καπίων Καλλιστρότω.

91 *I.Thespiai* 213–214, 217.

92 *I.Thespiai* 213 has seven μάρτυρες, whereas *I.Thespiai* 214 has four ϝίστορες. This conclusion

guistic and paleographical criteria, and possibly on similarities with the aforementioned manumissions, in form or in procedure, such as a similar invocation formula at the head of the document or the presence of witnesses (ϝίστορες).[93] It goes without saying that many of these conclusions are based on fragile evidence and should be treated with caution.

In any case, it seems that by and large acts of manumission were inscribed in Thespiai earlier than in Chaironeia. Could this situation be related to a distinct procedure of manumission? Among the Thespian manumissions, those that are complete are morphologically quite different from other Boeotian manumissions. Strictly speaking, none is a slave-dedication, since none has a consecration formula, although the divinity (Asklepios, once paired with Apollo) is invoked as a protector of the manumitted slave and/or as a witness of the act.[94] Unfortunately, the only precisely dated manumission (*I.Thespiai* 217) is so fragmentary that we cannot draw conclusions on the underlying procedure. Nor can one be sure that the absence of a specific consecration formula in a manumission is significant in terms of procedure. To date, the corpus of Thespian manumissions only shows that the practice of inscribing manumission acts was earlier in Thespiai than in western Boeotia or in neighbouring regions such as Phocis.[95] Moreover, other evidence shows that the manumissions from Orchomenos, Lebadeia and, probably, Koroneia date at the earliest to the early second century BC, as do the Chaironeian manumissions.

Lebadeia

Among the six known manumissions from Lebadeia, only one (*IG* VII 3083) can be precisely dated, in the federal archonship of Astias, *c.* 180 BC.[96] Another

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remains fragile, since the transition from the Boeotian dialect to *koine* was gradual, and probably occurred earlier in Thespiai than in the western part of Boeotia.

93 Same invocation formula (Θεός· τύχα ἀγαθά) in *I.Thespiai* 215 and in *I.Thespiai* 214; presence of witnesses in *I.Thespiai* 215 (ll. 18–19: ϝίσ|τωρ ὁ Ἀσκλαπιός) and 216 (four ϝίστορες) as in *I.Thespiai* 214 (four ϝίστορες) and 213 (seven μάρτυρες). *I.Thespiai* 218–219 are too fragmentary to provide any indication.

94 E.g. *I.Thespiai,* 213, ll. 3–4: ἐναντί|α τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ, and l. 18: μάρτυρες ὁ Ἀσκλαπιός κτλ.; *I.Thespiai* 216, ll. 4–7: ἐναντία | τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ | κὴ τῶ Ἀπόλλων|ος.

95 Self-evidently, the habit of inscribing acts of manumission must be distinguished from that of manumitting slaves, since the latter almost certainly existed before the former. We simply do not know why manumissions began to be inscribed, either in Boeotia or at Delphi, where the relevant documents are much more numerous.

96 *IG* VII 3083, ll. 1–5: Θιός· Τούχα ἀγα|θά. | Ϝαστίαο ἄρχοντος | Βοιωτῶς, ἐν δὲ Λεβα|δείη Δόρκωνος, Δωΐλος| Ἰρανήω ἀντίθειτι τὸν ϝίδιον θεράποντα Ἀν|δρικὸν τῦ Διὶ τὺ Βασιλεῖι | κὴ τῦ Τρεφωνίυ

manumission has a formula, τὰν ἄνθεσιν ποιόμεν[ος - - -] (*IG* VII 3082, l. 2), which is reminiscent of the phraseology of Chaironeian manumissions. A reference to the Council could be restored in the lacuna, as could a mention of a law. The same document also preserves a formula, ἔπιτα ἰα[ρὸς ἔστω] (*IG* VII 3082, l. 5),[97] which appears only in another manumission from Lebadeia, *IG* VII 3083 from the year of Astias' archonship. The stone is certainly not a *pierre errante* from Chaironeia, but the similarity with the diction of the Chaironeian manumissions suggests that it is roughly contemporary with the Chaironeian corpus. It should therefore be dated after 167 BC.

The dates of the other four Lebadeian manumissions remain uncertain. Two of these documents (*IG* VII 3080–3081) have been carved on two different sides of the same base. Both texts are in dialect. The first one (*IG* VII 3080) was probably dated by reference to the local archon only, since there is not sufficient space on the stone for restoring the names of two archons before that of the manumittor. It is therefore possible that this manumission is later than the dissolution of the Boeotian *Koinon* in 171 BC. Unfortunately, this point cannot be checked in the case of *IG* VII 3081, which, being an abbreviated copy of the original act, begins directly with the owner's name, Phillo daughter of Niominios. Both manumissions were made in the presence of four witnesses (ϝίστορες). The last two manumissions (*IG* VII 3084–3085) are linked by prosopography: Aristokis is manumitted in the first document and in turn she manumits a slave in the second document. Both manumissions were made before witnesses (μάρτυρες) and both are written in *koine*, so that they are probably later than the previous manumissions. In conclusion, there are good reasons to think that most of the surviving Lebadeian manumissions postdate the dissolution of the Boeotian Confederacy in 171 BC.

Orchomenos

In Orchomenos, all the manumissions by consecration to Serapis and Isis mention the *synhedroi* in their protection clause: the members of the Council, the priest and various local magistrates are responsible for the safety and the freedom of the manumitted slaves.[98] Their involvement indicates that

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ἰαρὸν εἶ|μεν κτλ. On the federal archon Astias, see Knoepfler 1992, p. 486, no. 152. Lebadeian manumissions: see full references in Appendix 1.

97 This formula means that the consecration of the manumitted slave will take effect once the *paramone* is over.

98 *IG* VII 3198–3204; Wilhelm 1915, pp. 13–18, no. 2 (Darmezin 1999, nos. 109–117). For example, *IG* VII 3198, l. 5–8 (Darmezin 1999, no. 109): ἢ δέ κά τις καταδουλίδ|δειτη εἴ ἐφάπτειτη, κούριος

the manumissions are later than 167 BC. Prosopography also shows that the slave-dedications to Serapis and Isis all belong to the same period. Two archons, Tharson and Apollonidas, each date three manumissions,[99] and Athanodoros son of Dorkilleis, the owner of a female slave in *IG* VII 3203, is either the son or the father of Dorkilleis son of Athanodoros, who was polemarch in the archonship of Tharson (*IG* VII 3198–3199). Dittenberger considered the owner to be the son of the polemarch, since he assumed, on the basis of the language, that *IG* VII 3198–3199 were earlier than *IG* VII 3200–3204.[100] The way in which the *synhedroi* are mentioned in the protection clause could confirm this assumption: they appear separately from the priest and the magistrates in the two manumissions dated by Tharson,[101] but together with the other magistrates in the other documents, as if all these officials were henceforth closely associated with each other. The separate formula could indicate that the reform of the Council had recently taken place in Orchomenos.

As for the role of the local magistrates—the polemarchs, the hierarchs and, once, the *katoptai*—in the procedure of manumission,[102] it seems that the involvement of the hierarchs is probably earlier than that of the polemarchs and the *katoptai*. The last of these appear in a manumission (*IG* VII 3202) which is certainly the latest of the series of slave-dedications to Serapis and Isis, since it is written in *koine*, whereas all other documents are written either in dialect or in a mixture of dialect and *koine*. Besides, the hierarchs appear in two manumissions by consecration to Asklepios,[103] which are among the

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ἔστω ὁ ἰα[ρεὺ]ς καὶ τὺ πολέμαρχυ σουλῶντες καὶ | δαμιώοντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βειλό[μενο]ς καὶ τὺ σούνεδρυ δαμιώνθω τὸν ἀδικίον|τα. See complete references in Appendix 1.

99 Archon Tharson: *IG* VII 3198–3199; Wilhelm 1915, pp. 13–18, no. 2 (Darmezin 1999, no. 117). Archon Apollonidas: *IG* VII 3200–3201; Wilhelm 1915 (Darmezin 1999, no. 116).

100 Dittenberger 1897, p. 597. See also Latyschev 1884, p. 71.

101 *IG* VII 3198, ll. 5–8; *IG* VII 3199, ll. 4–6 (Darmezin 1999, no. 110): ἢ δέ κά τις | ἐφάπτειτη, κούριος ἔστω ὁ ἰαρεὺς [καὶ τὺ πολέμ]αρχυ σουλῶντες καὶ δαμιώοντες,| καὶ τὺ σούνεδρυ σουλώνθω καὶ δα[μιώνθω τὸν] ἀδικίοντα (my emphasis). Compare with e.g. *IG* VII 3200, ll. 11–14: ἢ δέ κά τις ἐφά|πτειτη, κούριος ἔστω ὁ ἰαρεὺς καὶ τὺ | ἰαράρχη καὶ τὺ σούνεδρυ σουλῶντες καὶ | δαμιώοντες. The third manumission made in the archonship of Tharson (Wilhelm 1915; Darmezin 1999, no. 117) is fragmentary (the stone is broken on the bottom and the left side), so the last lines of the inscription are lost and the protection clause is restored.

102 Polemarchs: *IG* VII 3198–3199; Wilhelm 1915 (Darmezin 1999, no. 117); de Ridder 1895, p. 157, no. 1 (Darmezin 1999, no. 118); hierarchs: *IG* VII 3200–3201, 3203–3204; Wilhelm 1915 (Darmezin 1999, no. 116); de Ridder 1895, p. 161, no. 2 (Darmezin 1999, no. 119); *katoptai*: *IG* VII 3202.

103 Manumissions by consecration to Asklepios: de Ridder 1895, pp. 157–161, no. 1 (side A)

oldest manumissions of the Orchomenian corpus, as shown by the following identification: the hierarch Thion son of Archelaos, who appears in one of these documents, is attested as conscript in the federal archonship of Kteisias, *c.* 230 BC or later.[104] So the manumission by consecration to Asklepios was likely made in the early second century BC, and the same should be true of the other two manumissions inscribed on the same stone. In any case, these documents are earlier than 167 BC, since the *synhedroi* play no part in the protection of the manumitted slaves.[105]

The only manumission by consecration to the Mother of the Gods is too fragmentary to allow any inferences about procedure.[106] Roesch proposed to read the first words of the protection clause as κούριυ ἰό[ν]|θω τὺ ἄ[ρχοντες] (ll. 18–19). The *synhedroi* may have been mentioned in the same formula as the *archontes*, a word which usually refers to the chief magistrates of the city (the polemarchs).[107] This document is linked by prosopography with one of the slave-dedications to Serapis and Isis: Damon son of Ariston manumits a slave in both inscriptions.[108] So it is probably later than 167 BC.

In conclusion, the oldest Orchomenian manumissions are those made by consecration to Asklepios: they probably belong to the first decades of the second century BC. The nine slave-dedications to Serapis and Isis and the manumission by consecration to the Mother of the Gods are all later than 167 BC.

Koroneia

The Koroneian corpus currently contains sixteen acts of manumission, fifteen of which are manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops; there is also

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+ Preuner 1924, pp. 131–132, no. 20 and de Ridder 1895, pp. 161–164, no. 2 (side B); see Darmezin 1999, nos. 118–119. A reference to the hierarchs (instead of the polemarchs) must be restored in the protection clause of the second text (see Wilhelm 1915, pp. 16–17).

104 Manumission: de Ridder 1895, p. 161, no. 2, ll. 1–2: [- - - ἄρχοντος], ἰαρειάδδοντος Νίκωνος Φιλομείλω, ἰαρα⟨ρ⟩χίοντων | [-----]νω, Θίωνος Ἀρχελάω κτλ.; military catalogue: *IG* VII 3174, l. 32. On the federal archon Kteisias, see Knoepfler 1992, p. 488, no. 160.

105 E.g. de Ridder 1895, p. 161, no. 2, ll. 5–8: ἢ δέ κά τις κατ⟨α⟩δουλίδδειτη |[ἢ ἐφάπτειτη, ἐπιμέ]λεσθη τὸν ἰαρεία τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ τὸν ἠῖ ἀντιτουνχάνοντα |[κὴ τὼς ἰαράρχα]ς κὴ δαμιώεμεν κὴ σουλεῖμεν τὼς καταδουλιδδομένως |[κὴ κούριον εἶμεν κὴ τῶν] ἄλλων τὸν βειλόμενον.

106 Roesch 1970, pp. 157–160, no. 5.

107 The word '*archontes*' appears in public epigraphy in Boeotia no earlier than the second half of the second century BC: see Roesch 1965, p. 171; Knoepfler 1992, p. 466, no. 90.

108 Manumission by consecration to Serapis and Isis: Wilhelm 1915, p. 13, no. 2, l. 13 (Darmezin 1999, no. 117).

one manumission by consecration to Serapis.[109] These inscriptions have traditionally been dated between the late third and the early first century BC, the slave-dedication to Serapis being the latest.[110] Only Schachter has proposed a narrower chronological scope for the fifteen manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops, namely *c.* 200–150 BC.[111] Thirteen of the Koroneian documents were engraved on two stones reused in the same doorpost. Eight archons' names have been preserved on these stones, henceforth 'stone 1' and 'stone 2'. The archonships certainly cover a short period of time, since prosopographical analysis shows that the inscriptions are closely linked with each other. It was Schachter who noticed that the eponymous archon Mnasixenos dated two manumissions that were inscribed on the two stones.[112] Thus Mnasixenos provides a solid link between the series of manumissions engraved on stones 1 and 2. Schachter also noticed that Eubolos son of Philoxenos appears as a witness in two acts of manumission engraved on the same side of the same stone (stone 1),[113] that the witness Pourrichos son of Timon (stone 1) might be the same man as the witness Pourrichos (stone 2),[114] and that Proxenos son of Kallikritos, who manumitted a slave in the archonship of Pasion (stone 2), also attended as a witness a manumission engraved on a different side of the same stone.[115] Let us add that Philon son of Pouthinas appears as a witness in two manumissions (stone 1),[116] as Alexion son of Philotas does (stone 1 and stone 2).[117] This last

109 Manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops: Pappadakis 1916, pp. 217–224, 268–272; Roesch and Fossey 1978b, pp. 138–141 (*SEG* XXVIII 455); manumission to Serapis: *IG* VII 2872. See complete references in Appendix 1.

110 Pappadakis 1916, pp. 217–235, dated the manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops to the early second century BC; Roesch and Fossey 1978b, p. 139, dated the earliest manumission by consecration to Herakles Charops as early as the second half of the third century BC; Darmezin 1999, nos. 121–135, dated the Koroneian manumissions from the late third century to the second century BC.

111 Schachter 1986, pp. 7–8, n. 3.

112 Archon Mnasixenos: (stone 1) Pappadakis 1916, p. 218, Aβ′ (Darmezin 1999, no. 123) and (stone 2) Pappadakis 1916, p. 224, Διβ′. See Appendix 2, Table 2.

113 Eubolos son of Philoxenos: (stone 1) Pappadakis 1916, p. 220, Bϝ′ and p. 221, Bζ′ (Darmezin 1999 nos. 127–128).

114 Pourrichos (son of Timon): (stone 1) Pappadakis 1916, p. 219, Aγ′ and (stone 2) Pappadakis 1916, p. 224, Δια′ (Darmezin 1999, nos. 124 and 132).

115 Proxenos son of Kallikritos: Pappadakis 1916, p. 222, Γθ′ and p. 224, Διγ′ (Darmezin 1999, nos. 130 and 133).

116 Philon son of Pouthinas: (stone 1) Pappadakis 1916, p. 220, Bε′ and p. 220, Bϝ′ (Darmezin 1999, nos. 126–127).

117 Alexion son of Philotas: (stone 1) Pappadakis 1916, p. 220, Bε′ and (stone 2) p. 223, Γι′ (Darmezin 1999, nos. 126 and 131).

identification proves yet again that the two groups of slave-dedications to Herakles Charops are contemporaneous. Finally, the two individuals named Heirodotos who appear as owners in two different manumissions (stone 1 and stone 2) could be the same person.[118]

In ten manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops, the protection clause states that 'any Boeotian' (Βοιωτῶν ὁ βειλόμενος) can act as a guarantor of the manumitted slave, along with the priestess of Herakles Charops.[119] This formula could indicate that the Boeotian *Koinon* still existed at that time. In three other slave-dedications, the phrase 'any Boeotian' has been replaced by the less specific 'anyone who wishes' (ὁ βειλόμενος).[120] Of course, one cannot be sure that the absence of any reference to the Boeotians in this context is significant in chronological terms and that these manumissions were made after the dissolution of the Boeotian *Koinon*, especially since the inscriptions were often abbreviated copies of the original acts and the Greeks did not use formal writing for such documents. I am therefore inclined to believe that all the manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops are earlier than the dissolution of the *Koinon* in 171 BC, all the more so in light of a manumission that certainly dates from the early second century BC. Daikratidas son of Apollonidas and Kallikrita daughter of Dorkeidas manumitted two slaves in the archonship of Pouthinas, together with five other persons who are mentioned at the end of the document.[121] Daikratidas is probably the same man as a name-

118 Heirodotos: (stone 1) Pappadakis 1916, p. 218, Αα′ and (stone 2) p. 224, Διγ′ (Darmezin 1999, nos. 122 and 133).

119 Pappadakis 1916, p. 218, Αα′; p. 218, Αβ′; p. 219, Αγ′; p. 219, Αδ′; p. 220, Βε′; p. 220, Βϝ′; p. 222, Γθ′; p. 223, Γι′ (Darmezin 1999, nos. 122–127, 130–131); Pappadakis 1916, pp. 268–272, δ′ (Darmezin 1999, no. 135); Roesch and Fossey 1978b (*SEG* XXVIII 455; Darmezin 1999, no. 134). See e.g. Pappadakis 1916, p. 218, Αβ′ (Darmezin 1999, no. 123): εἰ δέ τίς κα καταδου|λίδδειτη Σούραν, κου|ρία ἔστω ἁ ἰάρεια τῶ Ἡ|[ρ]ακλεῖος τῶ Χάροπος [κ]|ὴ Βοιωτῶν ὁ βειλόμε|νος κτλ.

120 Pappadakis 1916, p. 221, Βζ′; p. 222, Γη′ and p. 223 Γη′; p. 224, Διγ′ (Darmezin 1999, nos. 128–129 and 133). One of these documents is obviously an abridged copy, as the condensed wording of its protection clause shows, see Pappadakis 1916, pp. 222–223, Γη′ (Darmezin 1999, no. 129), l. 17–21: εἰ δέ | τις καταδου|λόδει[τη] Προστ⟨άτ⟩ε|ιρον, προειστάσ|τω ἁ ἰάρεια. The mention of the Boeotians is obviously missing in the two other manumissions, see e.g. Pappadakis 1916, p. 221, Βζ′ (Darmezin 1999, no. 128), l. 12–17: εἰ δ[έ τίς] | κα ἐφάπτειτ[η κουρ]|ία ἔστω ἅ τε ἰά[ρεια] | σουλῶσα κὴ τῶ[ν ἄλ]|λων ὁ βειλόμεν[ος]| [ἀ]νουπόδικος ἰών. The two last manumissions, Pappadakis 1916, p. 224, Δια′ (Darmezin 1999, no. 132) and Διβ′, are too fragmentary for any conclusion to be drawn on this point.

121 Roesch and Fossey 1978b (Darmezin 1999, no. 134; *SEG* XXVIII 455), ll. 3–6: ἀ[ντίθεν|τ]ι Δαϊ-

sake from Orchomenos who was secretary of the college of polemarchs in the federal archonship of Onasimos (*c.* 223 BC).[122] He also made a dedication to Apollo Ptoios after a victory as choregos, in the archonship of Thynarchos.[123] The ethnic of Daikratidas is missing in the manumission, but this is probably not surprising in a private document recorded at a time when Koroneia and Orchomenos belonged to the Boeotian Confederacy and their citizens shared the same federal citizenship.[124] Moreover, the Charopeion was located in the territory of Koroneia in an area bordering the territories of Orchomenos and Lebadeia.[125] Finally, the patronymic of Kallikrita, Dorkeidas, is also characteristic of Orchomenian onomastics, as is the name of one of the co-manumittors, Sauxenos.[126]

In conclusion, all the Koroneian manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops are probably earlier than 171 BC, though not earlier than the second century BC. The only known manumission by consecration to Serapis seems to be later: it is written in *koine* in its entirety, and it should therefore be dated to the second half of the second century BC. The manumission procedure however

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κρατίδας [Ἀπολ]|λωνίδαο, Καλλ[ικρίτα] | Δορκείδαο κτλ.; l. 12–15: [σ]ουναφιόντων ἐλ[ευ|θ]έρ ⟦ως⟧ Μνασαρέτας, [Θιο|μ]νάστω, Σαυξένω, | [Ἀ]θανοδώρας, Θιδώ[ρω]. The wording of this document is quite different from that of the other Koroneian manumissions. For instance, there is no protection clause, and no witness attends the procedure.

122 *IG* VII 3179 (military catalogue), ll. 4–6: γραμ⟨μ⟩α|τίδοντος τῦς πολεμάρχυς Δαϊκρατίδαο Ἀ|πολλωνίδαο.

123 Spyropoulos and Amandry 1974, p. 195, no. 11: Δαϊκρατίδας Ἀπολλωνίδαο {μ} | Μνασικράτεις Θιοδώρω ἄνδρεσ|σι χοραγείσαντες νικάσαν|τες Διωνούσυ ἀνέθεικαν ἄρχον|τος Θυνάρχω αὐλίοντος Ἑρμα|ϊώνδαο ἀΐδοντος Ἄγλαω. The archon Thynarchos also dates the loan transaction between Orchomenos and Eubolos of Elateia in the late third century BC (*IG* VII 3171).

124 For instance, the Boeotians had the right of ownership over the whole territory of Boeotia. See Roesch 1982, pp. 301–306; Knoepfler 2001, p. 50 and n. 145, p. 253.

125 See Paus. 9.34.5; Pappadakis 1916, pp. 256–260; Papachatzis 1981. The sanctuary of Herakles Charops was located at the foot of Mount Laphystion (or Mount Granitsa), northwest of ancient Koroneia, near the road from Koroneia to Lebadeia. J. Camp discovered an ancient tower in the same area, at Rhaki (modern Laphystio), see Camp 1991, pp. 193–197. A boundary stone between Lebadeia and Koroneia was also found there, at Aghios Ioannis: *SEG* XXXV 406.

126 See *LGPN* III.B. s.v. Δορκείδας: two other occurrences, both from Orchomenos; see especially Dorkeidas son of Polemon, in a fragmentary list of Orchomenians to whom the city pays different amounts of money *c.* 210–200 BC (*IG* VII 3193, ll. 9–10: Δορκείδη Πολέ|[μω]νος); he could be the father of Kallikrita. *LGPN* III.B. s.v. Σαύξενος: another occurrence, from Orchomenos, in a military catalogue from the second half of the third century BC (*SEG* III 370, l. 14: [- - -]ανδρος Σαυξένω).

remains the same, as seen in the wording of the protection clause and the presence of witnesses.[127]

5 The Procedure of Manumission and Its Evolution in Boeotia

After reviewing the chronology of the inscribed Boeotian manumissions, it appears that the vast majority of them belong to the second century BC, extending, at least in Chaironeia, into the early first century BC. Acts of manumission—at least to judge from one document[128]—were engraved from the last quarter of the third century BC in Thespiai. The reason for this different chronology remains unknown: random discoveries of inscriptions and different epigraphic habits from one part of Boeotia to another are all possible factors. To date, there is no proof of different procedures of manumission between the eastern and western parts of Boeotia, although this assumption remains plausible.

Regarding the western part of Boeotia, there is insufficient evidence to establish a precise chronology of the Lebadeian and Koroneian manumissions, except for one Lebadeian document (*IG* VII 3083), which is dated by means of the federal archon Astias to *c.* 180 BC. On the other hand, the involvement of the *synhedrion* or the *synhedroi* in the manumission process constitutes a solid indication for the dating of the Chaironeian and Orchomenian acts; these, for the most part, are later than 167 BC. In Chaironeia, a corpus of about 125 inscriptions, some of them still unpublished, has produced 108 manumissions that are later than 167 BC, and only eight manumissions that are earlier than this date. In the much smaller Orchomenian corpus (fourteen inscriptions, some of them in a very fragmentary state), ten manumissions are later than 167 BC, whereas two manumissions at least, and perhaps as many as four, are earlier. This anchor-point in the absolute chronology reveals clear changes in the wording of the acts, since the mention of private witnesses disappears when the *synhedrion* becomes involved in the manumission process. It is therefore possible that the legal procedure also changed during the second century BC; nonetheless, interpretation of that procedure remains difficult due to the brevity of the documents.

127 *IG* VII 2872 (Darmezin 1999, no. 121), ll. 8–10: [συλάτω δὲ]| αὐτὸν ὁ ἱαρεὺς κα[ὶ τῶν] ἄλλων ὁ [βουλόμενος]· | μάρτυρες· κτλ. The end of the inscription is lost.

128 *I.Thespiai* 217 (225 or 224 BC), unless the chronology of federal archonships, on which this date is based, is revised in the future.

One may still wonder *why* the procedure changed after 167 BC, or just before. I propose the following explanation. The dissolution of the Boeotian *Koinon* in 171 BC led to significant changes, not only in the fields of war and diplomacy, but also in society, religion and economy. Paul Roesch identified at least ten federal laws organizing the institutions of the confederacy and various aspects of the life of the Boeotians at the time of the Hellenistic *Koinon*.[129] There was, for instance, a federal law on expropriation, and another law on military training.[130] These federal laws probably set a general framework within which each city decided how to apply those laws. But this legislation disappeared with the *Koinon* in 171 BC. There is no proof that there ever had been a federal law on manumission, but it is likely that the status of freedmen had been guaranteed throughout Boeotia and not only in the cities where the slaves were manumitted. The role of 'any Boeotian' in the protection of freed slaves in most of the Koroneian manumissions seems to confirm this hypothesis. After the dissolution of the *Koinon*, and at the end of the Third Macedonian War, the Boeotian cities were probably compelled to recast some laws and legal procedures. Thus, it is likely that the people of Chaironeia passed a law relating to manumission, and this must be the law that is mentioned in the great majority of the Chaironeian slave-dedications.[131]

The Chaironeian law required the Council to intervene in the procedure of manumission. Such official involvement in manumission is well attested elsewhere in Greece during the Hellenistic period, in particular in Phocis and West Locris. In Elateia, for instance, manumissions took place 'in the lawful Assembly of *the synhedroi*'.[132] In Hyampolis, the Council of the city agrees with the manumission of a slave in the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos.[133] In Daulis, a

129 See Roesch 1982, pp. 259–264 and 301–306 (on the right of *enktesis* for any Boeotian in the whole Boeotian territory at the time of the Hellenistic *Koinon*).

130 Federal law on expropriation: see *Syll.*³ 1185 and Migeotte 1992, p. 75, no. 28 (*SEG* XLIII 212A): inscription relating to the transfer of the temple of Demeter and Kore in Tanagra (early third century BC), esp. ll. 16–17: κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν κυνὸν Βοιωτῶν; federal law on military training, see *I.Thespiai* 29, ll. 10–11. There were also laws relating to federal magistracies such as the *naopoioi* or the *katoptai* which were created for the building of the temple of Zeus Basileus in Lebadeia, see Roesch 1982, pp. 291–292 and 392–396; *IG* VII 3073 = *Syll.*³ 972 (building contract from the temple of Zeus Basileus at Lebadeia; cf. Pitt in this volume), e.g. ll. 88–89: κατὰ τὸν κατοπτικὸν νόμον καὶ ναοποϊοκόν.

131 The fact that this law is a Chaironeian law is clearly underlined by two manumissions: *IG* VII 3307, l. 4 and *IG* VII 3376, ll. 7–8: κατὰ τὸν νόμον Χαι|ρωνέων.

132 *IG* IX.1 120, ll. 2–3: [– – – ἐν ἐννόμῳ ἐκκ]|λησίᾳ τῶν συνέδρων. See also *IG* IX.1 122, 124–127 (second century BC).

133 Pappadakis 1916, pp. 263–268, l. 21–6 (Darmezin 1999, no. 153): ἔδοξε | τοῖς προβούλοις συν-

slave-dedication to Athena Polias took place 'in the lawful Assembly', as well as in Physkeis in Lokris, for a manumission by consecration to Apollo Pythios.[134] R. Zelnick-Abramowitz believes that the Chaironeian law only required the Council to authorize the publication and engraving of manumissions.[135] In Stiris, an act of manumission clearly refers to such an authorization.[136] But this interpretation seems too restrictive, especially since the preposition διά in the formula διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου clearly refers to the intervention of the Council in the procedure. Of course, the Council of Chaironeia did not free the slaves itself, because these slaves did not belong to it. But it probably had to check that all the legal and financial requirements were met.[137] Thus, the formula 'he (or she) makes the consecration through the Council according to the law' (τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιόμενος διὰ τῶ συνεδρίω κατ τὸν νόμον *vel sim*) would have been used in Chaironeia to certify the legality of the manumission by consecration, once the procedure had been checked by the Council. The reference to the law in the inscribed acts of manumission would have replaced the detailed enumeration of the various clauses and requirements of the procedure, without abolishing them in practice.

But it also seems likely that the *synhedroi* acted as witnesses. This would explain why no private witness is mentioned in manumissions made through the Council. When the Chaironeians redefined their procedure of manumission after the dissolution of the *Koinon*, the city, through the Council, would have taken the place of private individuals to guarantee the status of the freed slaves. Such involvement of the Council also reveals the new, or rather reinforced, control that the city intended to exercise over the procedure, since manumission concerned its sanctuaries, through the process of consecration, as well as its finances. It was also useful for the city to know exactly who was

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κεχωρημένον | [ε]ἶμεν Αἰρέσειδι Δορκίνα ἀνάθεσιν ποιή|σασθαι τᾶς δούλας αὐτᾶς Εὐκρατείας ἐλευ|θερώσεως ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος τᾶς | Ἐλαφηβόλου κατὰ τὸν νόμον (second century BC).

134 Daulis: *IG* IX.1, 66 + Robert 1935, p. 202, l. 3: ἐν ἐνόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ (middle of the second century BC); Physkeis: *IG* IX.1² 3.705, l. 6: ἐν ἐννόμωι ἐκκλησίαι ἀνέθηκε Ἀγη|σιβούλα Φυσκίς (…) τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι | τῶι Πυθίωι σῶμα γυναικεῖον κτλ.

135 Zelnick-Abramowitz 2005, pp. 192–193.

136 *IG* IX.1 36 (Darmezin 1999, no. 148), ll. 2–4: Ἐαμερὶς Ἀρίστωνος καὶ Βῖθυς, αἰτ[ησάμενοι]| [τὰν πόλιν] τὰν ἀ⟨νά⟩θεσιν αὐτοῖς δόμεν ἀνα[γ]ε[γράφθαι ἐν τῷ]| [Ἀσκλαπι]είῳ, ἀπελευθέρωσαν καὶ ἀνέθ[ηκαν σώματα δύο γυναι|κεῖα κτλ.].

137 Manumission usually cost money, see e.g. the Chaironeian *IG* VII 3332, ll. 2–3: (…) ἀνατίθησι τὴν ἰδίαν δούλη[ν Φιλου]|μέν[η]ν ἐπὶ δωρεᾷ (I underline). A recording tax was also paid to the city: see *IG* VII 3303, 3307, 3339, 3344, 3354, 3398, 3406.

a freedman and who was a citizen among the inhabitants of the territory, for citizenship implies rights and duties. It is therefore likely that manumissions—or at least some procedural parts of them—took place in the meetings of the Council. This could explain why the Chaironeian acts are mostly dated on the 15th or the 30th of the month; this in turn could also show that manumissions were on the agenda of a limited number of Council meetings.[138]

Whatever interpretation of the role of the Chaironeian Council one favors (evidence is probably too scarce to define this role beyond reasonable doubt), it seems that a similar change occurred in the procedure of manumission in Orchomenos. This is suggested by the mention of the *synhedroi* in the protection clause of the manumission acts, although the role played by local magistrates for the protection of manumitted slaves seems to have been required in this city both before and after 167 BC.[139] It is perhaps not surprising to find similarities between Chaironeia and Orchomenos, insofar as the destinies of these cities were intertwined until the early first century BC. There is no evidence of a similar change in the procedure of manumission in other Boeotian cities; we should probably assume, however, that each Boeotian community was managing its own affairs after the dissolution of the *Koinon*.

Appendix 1. The Boeotian Manumissions: References

Chaironeia: 125 acts of manumission (at least)	
86 manumissions by consecration to Serapis:	– *IG* VII 3301–3307, 3309–3346, 3348–3374, 3376–3377, 3381–3383, 3387–3390, 3397–3399 – Museum of Chaironeia, inv. 94 (side B): two unpublished manumissions

138 Slaves were manumitted throughout the year, although manumissions were more frequent in the month of Boukatios, Homoloios and Alalkomenios.

139 Compare e.g. de Ridder 1895, p. 161, no. 2, l. 5–8 (involvement of the hierarchs, before 167 BC) with *IG* VII 3198, ll. 5–8 and *IG* VII 3199, ll. 4–6 (involvement of the polemarchs, after 167 BC).

Chaironeia: 125 acts of manumission (at least)	
14 manumissions by consecration to Artemis Ilithya:	– *IG* VII, 3385–3386, 3391, 3412 – Roesch and Fossey 1978a, pp. 123–141 (*SEG* XXVIII 444–448, 449 [with Mother of the Gods], 450–452) – *BCH* 77 (1953), p. 219: brief report of an unpublished manumission
15 manumissions (*at least*) *by consecration to Asklepios*:	– *SEG* XLIX 506–508, 509 (with Hygia), 510–511; republished by Meyer 2008. – *BCH* 76 (1952), p. 224: manumissions inscribed on a marble seat; see *BCH* 77 (1953), p. 219: 'L'inscription trouvée l'année dernière a pu être lue en partie (actes d'affranchissement à Asklépios, IIe s. av. J.-C.).' – seven (?) unpublished manumissions inscribed on two limestone plaques: four (?) acts on the first plaque (0,70 m × 0,66 × 0,12), three (?) acts on the second one (0,59 m × 0,65 × 0,13)
3 manumissions by consecration to the Mother of the Gods:	– *IG* VII 3378–3379 – Roesch and Fossey 1978a, p. 129, no. 6 (*SEG* XXVIII 449 [with Artemis Ilithya])
1 manumission by consecration to Dionysos:	– *IG* VII 3392, ll. 4–7. This fragmentary text is the protection clause of an inscription that can be identified as a slave-dedication to Dionysos, because of the mention of the priest of Dionysos. Another inscription was later cut over the first lines of this text. To date, this fragmentary document is the only slave-dedication to Dionysos known in Boeotia.
7 manumissions by consecration (*the name of the divinity is lost*):	– *IG* VII 3393–3396, 3406 – Museum of Chaironeia, inv. 246, 3003 (unpublished)

Lebadeia: 6 acts of manumission	
3 manumissions by consecration to Zeus Basileus and Trophonios:	– *IG* VII 3080–3081, 3083
2 manumissions by consecration to Trophonios:	– *IG* VII 3084–3085 (*IG* VII 3084 is fragmentary: restoration according to *IG* VII 3085, on the same stone)
1 manumission (*name of divinity lost*)	– *IG* VII 3082 (perhaps by consecration to Zeus Basileus and Trophonios)

Orchomenos: 14 acts of manumission	
9 manumissions by consecration to Sarapis and Isis:	– *IG* VII 3198–3199 + Wilhelm 1915, § 27, pp. 18–20, no. 3a–b (new readings) – *IG* VII 3200–3204 – Wilhelm 1915, § 27, pp. 13–18, no. 2: two manumissions
3 manumissions by consecration to Asklepios:	– de Ridder 1895, pp. 157–161, no. 1 (side A) + Preuner 1924, pp. 131–132, no. 20 (new readings l. 1); de Ridder 1895, pp. 161–164, no. 2 (side B): two manumissions, of which the second is very fragmentary
1 manumission by consecration to the Mother of the Gods:	– Roesch 1970, pp. 157–160, no. 5
1 manumission (*name of divinity lost*)	– de Ridder 1895, p. 164, no. 3

Koroneia: 16 acts of manumission	
15 manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops:	– Pappadakis 1916, pp. 217–221: seven manumissions; pp. 222–224: six manumissions; pp. 268–272: one manumission – Roesch and Fossey 1978b (*SEG* XXVIII 455)
1 manumission by consecration to Serapis:	– *IG* VII 2872

Thespiai: 7 acts of manumission	
1 manumission made 'in front of' Asklepios and Apollo:	– *IG* VII 1779; *I.Thespiai* 216
3 manumissions made 'in front of' Asklepios	– *IG* VII 1780; *I.Thespiai* 214 – Vollgraff 1901, pp. 359–361, no. 1 + Pappadakis 1916, pp. 260–261 (new readings); *I.Thespiai* 213 – Vollgraff 1901, pp. 359–361, no. 2; *I.Thespiai* 215 (Asklepios as witness)
3 manumissions (*the name of the divinity is lost*):	– *IG* VII 1778; *I.Thespiai* 218 – *IG* VII 1781; *I.Thespiai* 219 – Plassart 1926, p. 422, no. 43B (according to a copy from P. Jamot); *I.Thespiai* 217

Thisbe: 4 acts of manumission	
1 manumission by consecration to Artemis Ilithya:	– *IG* VII 2228
3 manumissions (Roman Imperial period)	– Pappadakis 1916, p. 262, no. 1: one manumission; ibid., no. 2: two manumissions

Oropos (Amphiaraion): 1 act of manumission	
	– *I.Oropos* 329 (the freed slave Moschos inscribed his manumission on the orders of Amphiaraos and Hygieia)

Appendix 2

TABLE 1 *Sequences of archons on stones*

***IG* VII 3301–3305**	***IG* VII 3341–3346**	***IG* VII 3348–3350**	***IG* VII 3356–3362**	***IG* VII 3366–3372**
Menebolos (3301)	Sam[ichos] (3341)	Kallikon (3348)	Archedamos (3356)	*Alexion* (3366)
Meliton (3302)	Samichos (3342)	*Thiodoros* (3349)	Anchiaros (3357)	Patron (3367)
Kallikon (3303)	Brochoullos (3343)	[Niko]n (3350)	Kritolaos (3358)	lac. (3368)
Alexikrates (3304)	*Theodoros* (3344)		Kritolaos (3359)	*Alexion* (3369)
Dexippos (3305)	*Dexippos* (3345)		lac. (3360)	lac. (3370)
	Nikon (3346)		lac. (3361)	*Theodoros* (3371)
			Dexippos (3362)	*Dioklidas (3372)
			Patron (3363)	
			Nikon (3364)	
			*[Diokli]das (3365)	

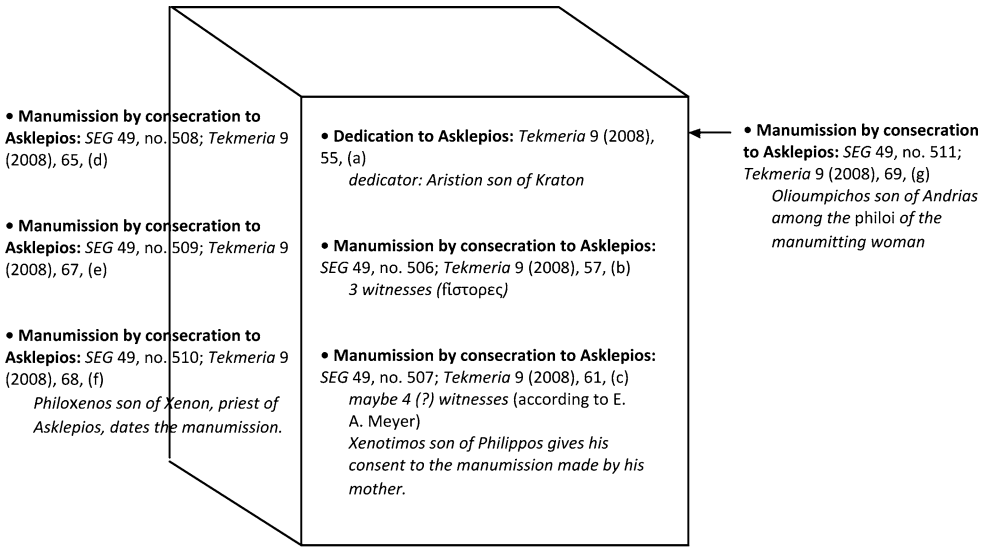

FIGURE 3 *The dedication to Asklepios and the six manumissions by consecration to Asklepios. Ed.: SEG XLIX 506–511; Meyer 2008 pp. 55–69, (a)-(g); SEG LVIII 436 I–VII.*

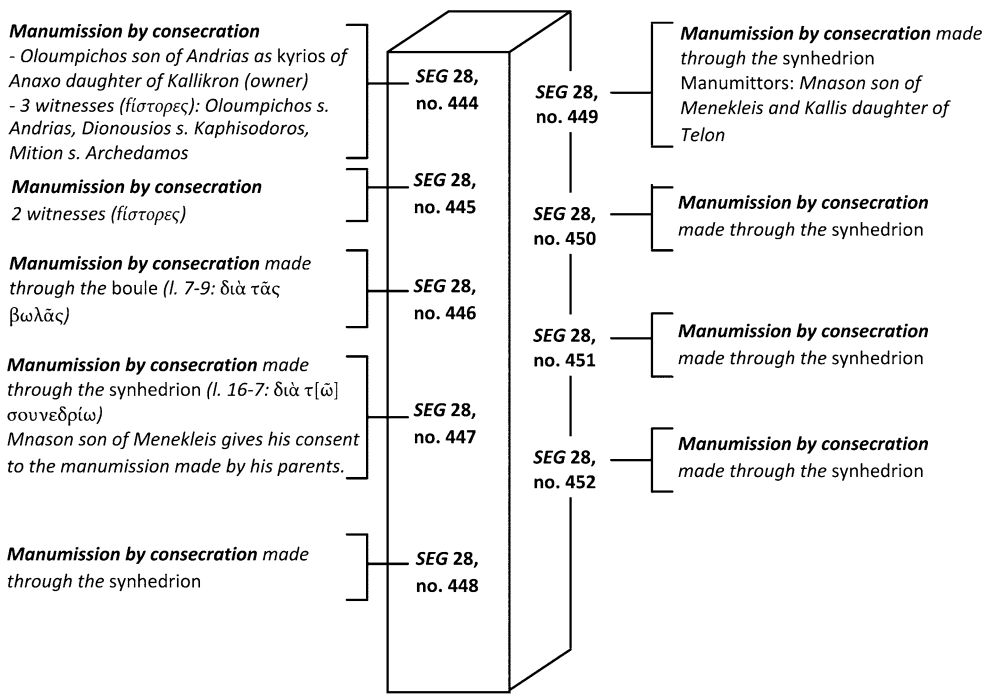

FIGURE 4 *Nine slave-dedications to Artemis Ilithya engraved on a limestone cippus. Ed.: Roesch and Fossey 1978a (SEG XXVIII 444–452)*

TABLE 2 *Thirteen manumissions by consecration to Herakles Charops from Koroneia: prosopography. Ed.: Pappadakis 1916, pp. 217–221 and 222–224. These documents are engraved on two stones reused in the same doorpost.*

Stone 1: Pappadakis 1916, pp. 217–221, Αα′ to Βζ′	**Stone 2: Pappadakis 1916, pp. 222–224, Γη′ to Διγ′**
Side A	*Side A*
Αα′: Heirodotos (manumittor)	Γη′
Αβ′: archon Mnasixenos	Γθ′: Proxenos son of Kallikritos (manumittor)
Αγ′: Pourrichos son of Timon (witness)	Γι′: Alexion son of Philotas (witness)
Αδ′	
Side B	*Side B*
Βε′: Philon son of Pouthinas (witness) Alexion son of Philotas	Δια′: Pourrichos son of [- - -] (witness)
Βϝ′: Eubolos son of Philoxenos (witness) Philon son of Pouthinas (witness)	Διβ′: archon Mnasixenos
Βζ′: Eubolos son of Philoxenos (witness)	Διγ′: Heirodotos (manumittor) Proxenos son of Kallikritos (witness)

Appendix 3

I present below the main manumission inscriptions on which the reappraisal of the chronology of the Chaironeian corpus relies. I do not intend to give a new edition of these inscriptions here.

3.1 *Six Manumissions by Consecration to Asklepios*

Ed.: *SEG* XLIX 506–511 (L. Darmezin and J.M. Fossey); Meyer 2008 (*SEG* LVIII 436 II–VII). I reproduce L. Darmezin and J.M. Fossey's edition and give E.A. Meyer's main readings in the apparatus with an occasional critical comment of my own.

(*On the front side*)

SEG XLIX 506; Meyer 2008, p. 57, (b); _SEG_ LVIII 436 II

Θε[ός]. Τ[ούχα ἀγα]θά. Ἀθανοδώρω
ἄρχοντος, μειν[ὸς]
[Θ]ο̣υ̣ί[ω] πε[ντεκ]ηδεκάτη, ἀντίθειτι
Τιμογίτα Φερ[ε]-
[ν]ίκ[ω - -]χιον τ[ὸ γ]ένος Ἡρ[α]κλεώταν
ἱαρὸν Ἀσσκλα̣-
[π]ιῦ, π[αρι]όντων α[ὐτῇ] τῶν ουἱῶν
Ἑρμαΐσκω κὴ Ἰε-
ροκ[λεῖος κὴ ---------- ϝί]στ[ο]ρες
Φανοκλεῖς
Πα[----------]οκλεῖς,
Ἰσμεινίας
Ἀριστο[- - -]. *vacat*

God. Good Fortune. In the archonship of Athanodoros, on the 15th day of the month of Thyios, Timogita daughter of Pherenikos consecrates [- - -]*chios, of Herakleia by origin, as sacred to Asklepios, with the help of her sons Hermaiskos and Hierokles* [- - -]*; witnesses Phanokleis son of Pa*[- - -], [- - - -]*okleis, Hismeinias son of Aristo*(- - -).

L. 1–2: [Θιός· τιούχαν ἀγαθ]ά̣ν. Φανοδώρω ἄρχοντος μειν|[ὸς κτλ.] (Meyer, according to Sotiriadis 1905, p. 118).
L. 2–3: Τιμο̣γίτα Φει̣|[δίαο? τὸν ϝίδιον δοῦλον . .]κ̣λε̣[ί]δ̣α̣ν ἱαρὸν κτλ. (Meyer). I can read a –ρ at the end of l. 2.
L. 5: [ϝί]στ[ο]ρες instead of [μά]ρτ[υ]ρες (Darmezin and Fossey).
L. 6: [----------]δ̣[.]ρ̣ω Ἰ̣σμεινίας (Meyer).
L. 7: Ἀριστο[----------]Σ̣Ε̣[. .] . vacat (Meyer).

SEG XLIX 507; Meyer 2008, p. 61, (c); _SEG_ LVIII 436 III

Θιός. Τούχα ἀγαθά. Νικοδάμω ἀρχῶ, μεινὸς
Προστατει[ρ]ίω τριακά[δι], ἀντίθειτι Καραΐς
Ἐμπέδω[νος Ζώ]πυρο[ν] ἱαρὸν τῶ Ἀσκλαπιῶ
παρμείναντα αὐ[τ]ῆ ἄς κα Καραΐς δώει,
σουνεπινε[υ]-
{οντος}όντων αὐτῆ τῶ ο̣υ̣ἱῶ Ξενοτίμω
Φιλίππω
Λεβαδειήω κὴ φίλ[ω]ι̣ Τιμοκλίδαο κὴ ΑΙΣΚ
. Ω. .Σ̣ Ἀ-
κάνθω, Εὐ[- - - - - -]ος Καφισίνω, Καλλικρίτω
Θι[ο]δωρίδαο, Ἐμπέδω[ν]ος Θ̣ι̣ογίτονος,
Τιμοκρά-
[τεος Φιλο]νίκωνος. *vacat*

God. Good Fortune. In the archonship of Nikodamos, on the 30th day of the month of Prostateirios, Karais daughter of Empedon consecrates Zopyron as sacred to Asklepios, on condition that he remains with Karais as long as she lives, with the consent of her son Xenotimos son of Philippos from Lebadeia and of her friends Timoklidas and Aisk(-)*, Eu*(-)*os (?) son of Kaphisinos, Kallikritos son of Thiodoridas, Empedon son of Thiogiton, Timokrates son of Philonikon.*

L. 1: τούχα[ν ἀγαθ]άν (Meyer).
L. 2: Προστατ[ειρίω date, - - ἀ]γτί[θ]ειτι (Meyer).
L. 4–5: ἅ[ς] κα{.} δ̣ώει σουνεπινε[ν]|ε[υ]κ̣όντων.
L. 6–9: Λε[β]αδ̣ειή[ω κὴ - - -]λίδαρ̣ κὴ Ἰκ̣ε̣ρ̣ίω Ἀθ[...]Α| . ΑΝ[- - - · ϝίστορες Κα]φι̣σίνω, Καλλύκριτο[ς]| [Εὐα]γορίδαο Εὐ[---]ος Δι̣ογίτ̣ονος Τ⟨ι⟩μοκρά[τ]| *vacat* [--------]ω[νο]ς (Meyer). The reading Καλλύκριτο[ς] cannot be checked on the stone or on the drawing.

(*On the left side*)

SEG XLIX 508; Meyer 2008, p. 65, (d); _SEG_ LVIII 436 IV

[1] Καλλιτίμω ἀρχῶ
Θοίνων κὴ Μελίτων
[Χ]αρώνδαο ἀντίθεντι
[4] [ἰ]αρὸν Κρατῖνον Ἀσκλ-
[α]πιῶ.

In the archonship of Kallitimos, Thoinon and Meliton, sons of Charondas, consecrate Kratinos as sacred to Asklepios.

SEG XLIX 509; Meyer 2008, p. 67, (e); _SEG_ LVIII 436 V

[1] Φιλοξένω ἄρχοντος
μεινὸς Προστατειρίω
τριακάδι· Ἀθανόδωρος
[4] Πουθίναο ἀντίθειτι
τὸν ϝίδιον ϝεικέταν Ἀρμέ-
νιον{ιον} ἰαρὸν εἶμεν τῶ
Ἀσκλαπιῶ, παρμείναντα
[8] Ἀθανοδώρει κὴ Τιμῶι ἀνεγ-
κλείτως ἄως κα ζώωνθι.

In the archonship of Philoxenos, on the 30th day of the month of Prostateirios, Athanodoros son of Pouthinas consecrates his own servant Armenion so that he belongs as sacred to Asklapios, on condition that he remains with Athanodoros and Timo as long as they live, giving no reason for reproach.

SEG XLIX 510; Meyer 2008, p. 68, (f); _SEG_ LVIII 436 VI

[1] Θιός. Τιούχαν ἀγαθάν. Ἰαρειάδδοντος
Φιλοξένω Ξένωνος, Ἀντιγενὶς Ἰππίν[ω]
κὴ Καλλίππα Ἄγρωνος ἀντίθενθι ἰαρὰν
[4] τὰν ϝιδίαν θεραπήναν Νικῆαν τῦ Ἀ[σ]-
κλαπιῦ κὴ τᾶ Οὐγίη ἰαρὰν εἶμεν κὴ
μεῖ ποθικ[έ]μεν αὐσαυτῆς μειθέν.

God. Good Fortune. In the priesthood of Philoxenos son of Xenon, Antigenis daughter of Hippinos and Kallippa daughter of Agron consecrate their own maid Nikea as sacred to Asklapios and Hygia so that she is sacred and does not belong to them in any way.

(*On the right side*)

***SEG* XLIX 511; Meyer 2008, p. 69, (g); *SEG* LVIII 436 VII**

1	[----------]Φ[---]	(*archonship, date*)
	[---ἀντ]ίθειτι τὰν ϝιδίαν θεράπηναν	(manumittor) *consecrates her own maid*
	[Ζωπο]ύραν ἰαρὰν τεῖ Ἀσκλαπιεῖ *vacat*	*Zopoura as sacred to Asklepios, with the*
4	[συμπ]αριόντων αὐτῆ φίλων Κρ *ν.* ά-	*assistance of her friends Kraton son of*
	τωνος Ἀριστίωνος, *vac.* Ὀλιουμπίχω{ς}	*Aristion, Olioumpichos son of Andrias,*
	Ἀνδρίαο, Εὐρουφάωνος Ϝαναξιδάμω.	*Eurouphaon son of Wanaxidamos.*

3.2 *Nine Manumissions by Consecration to Artemis Ilithya*

Ed.: Roesch and Fossey 1978a (*SEG* XXVIII 444–452)

(*Side A*)

***SEG* XXVIII 444**

1	Ἐπιτίμω ἀρχῶ, μεινὸς	*In the archonship of Epitimos, in the*
	Ἀλαλκομενίω, Ϝαναξὼ	*month of Alalkomenios, Wanaxo daughter*
	Καλλίκρωνος ἀντίθειτι	*of Kallikron consecrates her own maid*
4	τὰν ϝιδίαν θεράπηναν	*Zopoura as sacred to Artemis Ilithya,*
	Ζωπούραν τῆ Ἀρτάμιδι	*with the assistance of her husband*
	τῆ Εἰλειθίη, παρίοντος	*Oloumpichos son of Andrias. Witnesses:*
	αὐτῆ τῶ ἀνδρὸς Ὀλουμ-	*Oloumpichos son of Andrias, Dionousios*
8	[π]ίχω Ἀνδρίαο, ἰαράν. Φίστο-	*son of Kaphisodoros, Mition son of*
	ρες Ὀλούμπιχος Ἀνδρίαο,	*Archedamos.*
	Διωνούσιος Καφισοδώρω,	
	Μιτίων Ἀρχεδάμω.	

***SEG* XXVIII 445**

1	Ϝαναξιδάμω ἄρ-	Ἀρτάμιδι τῆ	*In the archonship of Wanaxidamos, on*
	χοντος, μεινὸ-	Εἰλειθίη, παρ-	*the 18th day of the month of Boukatios,*
	ς Βουκατίω ὀκτ-	12 μείνασαν ἄω-	*Nikodamos son of Timenetos consecrates*
4	οκηδεκάτη, Νι-	ς κα ζώει Νικό-	*his own maid Zoila as sacred to Artemis*
	κόδαμος Τιμη-	δαμος. Φίστο-	*Ilithya, on condition that she remains*
	νέτω ἀντίθει-	ρες Νόνεις Ἴπ-	*with Nikodamos as long as he lives.*
	τι τὰν ϝιδίαν θ-	16 πωνος, Διωνο-	*Witnesses: Noneis son of Hippon,*
8	αράπηναν Ζωί-	ύσιος Ἀθανίαο.	*Dionousios son of Athanias.*
	λαν ἰαρὰν τῆ		

SEG XXVIII 446

Μεινὸς ἐμβολήω τριακάδι,
Ὁμολώϊχος Ξενοκλίδαο κὴ Σω-
σίχα Σωσία[ο] ἀντίθενθι τὰν
ϝιδίαν θρεπτὰν Ζωπύραν ἰα-
[ρ]ὰν εἶμεν τᾶς Ἀρτάμιδος τᾶ[ς]
Εἰλιθίας παρμείνασαν αὐτεῖς
ἄως κα ζώωνθι· τὰν ἄνθεσιν ποιώ-
μενει διὰ τᾶς βωλᾶς κὰτ τὸν ν[ό]-
μον.

On the 30th day of the intercalary month, Homoloichos son of Xenoklidas and Sosicha daughter of Sosias consecrate their own house-born slave Zopura so that she is sacred to Artemis Ilithya, on the condition that she remains with them as long as they live. They make the consecration through the Council according to the law.

SEG XXVIII 447

Θιός. Τιούχαν ἀγαθάν. Μνασιγέ-
νιος ἄρχοντος, μεινὸς Ἑρμαίω, Με-
νεκλεῖς Διωνουσοδώρω κὴ Βιοττ[ὶς]
Μνάσωνος ἀντίθεντι τὰν ϝιδί[αν]
θρεπτὰν Παρθέναν ἰαρὰν τᾶ Ἀρ[τά]-
μιδι τᾶ Ἐλιθίᾳ, συνευδοκίοντος α[ὐ]-
τεῖς κὴ τῶ ουίῶ Μνάσωνος, παρμε[ί]-
νασαν αὐσαυτεῖς ϝέτια δέκα ἄω[ς]
κα ἁ ἄνθεσις κουρωθείει· εἰ δέ τ[ί]
κα παθῶντι Μενεκλεῖς κὴ Βιοτ-
τὶς πρὸ τῶ παρμεῖνη αὖτεῖς Παρ-
θέναν τὸν γεγραμμένον χρό-
νον, παρμεινάτω Παρθένα τὰ
ἐπίλυπα ϝέτια πὰρ Τελίαν τ-
ὰν θιουγατέρα Μενεκλεῖος·
τὰν ἄνθεσιν ποιομένυ διὰ τ[ῶ]
σουνεδρίω κὰτ τὸν νόμον.

God. Good Fortune. In the archonship of Mnasigeneis, in the month of Hermaios, Menekleis son of Dionousodoros and Biottis daughter of Mnason consecrate their own house-born slave Parthena as sacred to Artemis Ilithya, with the consent of their son Mnason, on the condition that she remains with them for ten years, until the consecration comes into effect. But if Menekleis and Biottis should suffer anything before Parthena has remained with them for the prescribed period, Parthena will remain with Telia, the daughter of Menekleis, for the remaining years. They make the consecration through the Council according to the law.

SEG XXVIII 448

Θιός. Τιούχαν ἀγαθάν. Καλλικλεῖος ἄρχοντος, μεινὸς Θειλουθίω, Διοκλεῖς Πουρρίναο ἀντίθειτι τὰς ϝιδίας θρεπτὰς Παρθέναν κὴ Ἑρμαίαν τῆ Ἀρτάμιδι τῆ Ἐλιθίη παρμεινάσας εὐνόως ΕΙΠΙ . . ΙΑΣΑΣ κὴ ΕΝ ΔΙΟΥΩΣΑΣ Διουκλεῖ ἄ[ω]ς κα ζώε[ι]· τὰν ἄνθεσιν ποιόμενος διὰ τῶ συ[νεδρίω. Ἐκουρώθει Πα[ν]άμω δ[ε]κάτη.

God. Good Fortune. In the archonship of Kallikleis, in the month of Theilouthios, Diokleis son of Pourrinas consecrates his own house-born slaves Parthena and Hermaia to Artemis Ilithya, on the condition that they remain with Diokleis (- - -) well disposed as long as he lives. He makes the consecration through the Council. (The consecration) comes into force on the 10th of Panamos.

(*Side B*)

SEG XXVIII 449

Cf. Parker 2002

[Θ]ιός. Τιούχαν ἀγαθάν. Αὐτομένιος ἄρχοντος τῶ δευτέρω, μεινὸς Βουκατίω πεντεκηδεκάτη, Μνάσων Μενεκλεῖος κὴ Καλλὶς Τέλωνος ἀντίθεντι τὰς ϝιδίας θρεπτὰς παρμεινάσαν ας αὐτῦς ἆς κα ζώωνθι, ποιιώσας αὐ[τ]ὰς τὰ ἐπιταδδόμενα πᾶν τὸ διουνατόν, Ζωπούραν Ἀρτάμιδι Ἐλιθίη, Προστατειρίδα Ματέρι Μεγάλη· ἐπὶ δέ κα ἀμφεπῶνθι τὰν ϝιδίαν Μνάσων κὴ Καλλίς, ποίσονθι αὐτῦς τὰ ν[ο]μιδδόμενα τῆ προερρειμένη ⟨ ἅ *vel* τὰ ⟩ ἁ πόλις νομίδδει κοινῆ· εἰ δέ κα βειλῶνθη κὴ κατὰ ϝιδίαν ποῖμεν ἐξέστω· τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιιόμενυ διὰ τῶ σουνεδρίω κὰτ τὸν νόμον.

God. Good Fortune. In the archonship of Automeneis the second, on the 15th day of the month of Boukatios, Mnason son of Menekleis and Kallis son of Telon consecrate their own house-born slaves, on the condition that they remain with them as long as they live, doing what they order them as far as possible, Zopoura to Artemis Ilithya, Prostateiris to the Great Mother. When Mnason and Kallis meet their fate, the aforementioned women will together perform for them the customary rites that are the custom of the city; but they may act separately if they want to; they make the consecration through the Council according to the law.

SEG XXVIII 450

Ἀριστίωνος ἀρχῶ, μεινὸς Θ⟨ιο⟩ύω τριακάδι, Ἀγεισίας Νόνειτος ἀντίθειτι τῆ Ἀρτάμιδι τῆ Ἐλειθίη τὰν ϝιδίαν θεράπηναν Καλλίδα ἰ⟨α⟩ρὰν εἶμεν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον· τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιόμενος διὰ τῶ σουνεδρίω κὰτ τὸν νόμον.

In the archonship of Aristion, on the 30th day of the month of Thios, Hageisias son of Noneis consecrates to Artemis Ilithya his own maid Kallis so that she is sacred forever. He makes the consecration through the Council according to the law.

SEG XXVIII 451

Κλίωνος ἀρχῶ, με[ι]νὸς Θειλιουθίω τριακάδι, Ἰάσων Ἀγεισίαο ἀντίθε[ι]τι τῆ Ἀρτάμιδι τῆ Ἐλιθίη ἰαρὰν τὰν ϝιδίαν θρεπτὰν Ἀγαθὼν παραμείνασ(αν) αὐτῦ ἄυς κα ζώει· τὰν ἄνθεσιν ποιιόμενος διὰ τῶ σο[υ]νεδρίω κὰτ [τ]ὸν νόμον.

In the archonship of Klion, on the 30th day of the month of Theiliouthios, Iason son of Hageisias consecrates as sacred to Artemis Ilithya his own house-born slave Agatho, on the condition that she remains with him as long as he lives. He makes the consecration through the Council according to the law.

SEG XXVIII 452

Ἀριστ[ί]ωνος ἀρχῶ, μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω ϝικάδι, Καφίσα Μνασίαο, παριόντων αὐτῆ φίλων Ϝασάνδρω Καφισίωνος, Μνασία[ο] Εὐθυμίδαο, ἀφί⟨ει⟩τι τὰν ϝιδίαν θρεπτὰν Σ[ω]σῶν ἰαρὰν τῆ Ἀρτάμιδι τῆ Ἐλιθίη πα[ρ]αμείνασαν{ας} αὐτῆ ἄς κα ζώει· τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιομένα διὰ τῶ σο[υ]νεδρίω κὰτ τὸν νόμον.

In the archonship of Aristion, on the 20th day of the month of Alalkomenios, Kaphisa daughter of Mnasias, with the assistance of her friends Wasandros son of Kaphision, Mnasias son of Euthymidas, sets free her own house-born slave Soso as sacred to Artemis Ilithya, on the condition that she remains with her as long as she lives. She makes the consecration through the Council according to the law.

3.3 *Three Manumissions by Consecration to Sarapis*

_IG_ VII 3348

Καλλίκωνος ἄρχοντος, μεινὸς Ἀγριωνίω ὀγδ[ό]-
η ἐπὶ ϝικάδι, Ἀρτάμων Ζωπούρω ἀντίθειτι τὼς
ϝιδίως δούλως Ἀγεισίαν κὴ Παράμονον ἰαρὼς
τῦ Σαράπι, παραμείναντας ἀσαυτῦ ἄς κα ζώει
ἀνεγκλείτως κὴ τῦς γονέϋς αὐτῶ· τὰν ἀνάθε-
σιν ποιιόμενος διὰ τῶ σουνεδρίω κατ τὸν νόμον.

In the archonship of Kallikon, on the 28th day of the month of Agrionios, Artamon son of Zopouros consecrates his own slaves, Ageisias and Paramonos, as sacred to Sarapis, on condition that they remain with him as long as he lives and with his parents, giving no reason for reproach, and he makes the consecration through the Council according to the law.

_IG_ VII 3349

Θιοδώρω *ν* ἀρχῶ, μεινὸς Θιουίω πεντε-
κηδεκάτη, Εὔδαμος Ὁμολ(ω)ΐχω ἀντίθειτι τὸν
ϝίδιον δοῦλον Μελίτωνα ἰαρὸν τεῖ Σαρά-
πι· τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιόμενος διὰ τᾶς βωλᾶς
κατ τὸν νόμον, μεὶ ποθείκοντι μειθενὶ μει-
θέν.

In the archonship of Thiodoros, on the 15th day of the month of Thyios, Eudamos son of Homoloichos consecrates his own slave Meliton as sacred to Sarapis, and he makes the consecration through the Council according to the law, so that he does not belong to anyone in any way.

_IG_ VII 3350

[Νίκω]νος ἀρχῶ, μεινὸς Ἀλαλκομενίω
πεντεκηδ[ε]κάτη, Ξένων Ἀρχεδάμω ἀν-
τίθειτι τὸν ϝίδιον δοῦλον Μελίτωνα ἰαρὸν τεῖ
Σαράπι, μεὶ ποθίκοντα μειθενί, τὰν ἀνάθε-
σιν ποιόμενος διὰ τῶ σουνεδρίω κατ τὸν
νόμον.

In the archonship of Nikon, on the 15th day of the month of Alalkomenios, Xenon son of Archedamos consecrates his own slave Meliton as sacred to Sarapis, no longer belonging to anyone in any way. He makes the consecration through the Council according to the law.

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Land Administration and Property Law in the Proconsular Edict from Thisbe (*Syll.*[3] 884)[1]

Isabelle Pernin

Probably in the Severan period, a Roman magistrate issued an edict addressed to the Boeotian city of Thisbe in order to regulate the holding of public lands by private individuals. The document was engraved on a stone that is lost today, but at the end of the nineteenth century the American team excavating in Thisbe saw five fragments of the stone in a church of the modern village.[2] The stone bore two documents: a proconsular edict (ll. 1–54) and a letter from a proconsul probably addressed to the inhabitants of Thisbe, of which the broken stone preserved only the beginning (ll. 55–58). Two Roman magistrates are mentioned in the document: Marcus Ulpius (l. 1), whose cognomen and exact title are lost, and the proconsul Geminius Modestus (l. 55), author of the letter. Marcus Ulpius is otherwise unknown. Geminius Modestus was identified by W. Dittenberger with the former praetor of the same name, mentioned in an inscription of Cirta in the province of Numidia, as the husband of a certain Sabinia Celsina.[3] E. Groag indicates that Geminius Modestus was himself a citizen of Cirta.[4] He was perhaps the son of an *epistrategos* who performed his duties in Egypt shortly before 207. Groag concludes that we must place the activity of Geminius Modestus, and most likely his predecessor Marcus Ulpius, at the end of the reign of Severus Alexander (222–235) or in the years following his murder.[5] It has been commonly accepted after Dittenberger's study that M. Ulpius was proconsul of Achaia, and that the document of Thisbe was a proconsular edict.[6]

1 I am grateful to R. Bouchon and J. Dubouloz, who kindly agreed to read this text, and I owe special thanks to P. Brillet-Dubois, who helped me with the translation of this essay.

2 Tarbell and Rolfe 1890, 114–118.

3 *CIL* VIII 7054.

4 Groag 1939 p. 79.

5 Groag 1946, p. 7.

6 Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3] 884, n. 2.

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Thisbe, Proconsular Edict Concerning the Farming of Public Lands (3rd Century AD)[7]

Thisbe. Five fragments reused in several walls of the ruined Church of the Holy Trinity. Fragments now lost.

Fragment a: *IG* VII 2226 (W. Dittenberger (1892)).
Fragment b: K. Keil, *Syll. Inscr. Boeot.*, pp. 604–605; *IG* VII 2227 (W. Dittenberger (1892)).
Fragments c, d, e: F.B. Tarbell, J.C. Rolfe, "Discoveries at Thisbe in 1889", *AJA* 6 (1890) pp. 114–118, VI.
All fragments published by W. Dittenberger, *Index Scholarum de l'Université de Halle*, semestre d'hiver 1891/2, pp. I–XIV (*IG* VII Add., p. 747; *Syll.*[2] 533; *Syll.*[3] 884; H. Pleket, *Epigraphica* I, pp. 71–72, no. 50).
[*Discussion*: T. Reinach, *REG* 1891, p. 322; M. Rostowzew, *Stud. Gesch. röm. Kolonats*, 1919, p. 386; J. Tréheux, "ἐπ' ἀμφότερα", *BCH* 77 (1953), pp. 155–165; H.J. Gehrke, "Thisbe in Boiotien. Eine Fallstudie zum Thema 'Griechische Polis und Römisches Imperium'", *Klio* 75 (1993), pp. 152–154; L. Migeotte, "Ressources financières des cités béotiennes" in J.M. Fossey (éd.), *Boeotia Antiqua* IV. *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress on Boiotian Antiquities, Boiotian* (*and other*) *Epigraphy*, Amsterdam 1994, p. 7, reprinted in L. Migeotte, *Économie et finances publiques des cités grecques* I, *Choix d'articles publiés de 1976 à 2001*, Lyon, 2010, p. 224; F. Quass, "Zum Problem der Kultivierung brachliegenden Gemeindelandes kaiserzeitlicher Städte Griechenlands", *Tekmeria* 2 (1996), pp. 108–115.]

a Μᾶρκος Οὔλπιος [- - ἀνθύπατος λέγει]·
ὁ βουλόμενος Θισβαίων χωρίον δη[μόσιον τῆς πόλεως λαβεῖν καὶ φυτεῦσαι
[ἐκτὸς (or χωρίς)] τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γεωργουμένων [παραδότω τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῆς πόλεως]
4 βιβλίον, γράψας ἐν αὐτῶι τόπον τε ὃν βο[ύλεται λαβεῖν καὶ φόρον ὃν δώσει κατ']
ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου πλέθρου - -
[βου]λῆς ἢ ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὸ δεδογμένον - -
- - ων· κ[αὶ] εἰ μέν τις - -
8 - - τῇ ἐκκ[λησίᾳ - -]

7 For the benefit of the reader I provide translations of individual sections of the edict throughout the footnotes following detailed discussion of the relevant parts.

[- - σ]θω εἰς - - - - υ
b c σκοι καὶ α[- -]
[- - κ]οιναί· γραφέτω [δ]’ ἐν ε[- -]
12 [κ]αὶ τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ φόρου - -
[- - τοῖ]ς τε ἄρχουσιν καὶ δεκατ[ευταῖς] κα[ὶ - -]
- - τ[ὴ]ν πρόσοδον τὴν ἐκ [τούτ]ων καὶ - -
[- - τ]α τοῦ τόπου· [λήψε]τε δὲ [ὑ]πὲρ ἑκά[στου χωρίου ὁ καταλαβὼν]
16 ἄνεσιν τοῦ φόρου τῶν πρώτων [ἐτ]ῶν πέντ[ε· ἔπειτα δὲ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν]
δώσει τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐτήσιον το[ῦ] καταλαμβανομ[ένου χωρίου τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ]
Ἀλαλκομεναίου τ[ῇ] πεντεκαιδεκ[άτῃ]· οἱ δὲ μὴ πράξαντες σ[τρατηγοὶ τὴν πρόσο]-
δον ὑπεύθυνοι ἔσονται ὧν οὐκ ἔ[πρ]αξαν· εἰ δέ τις λαβὼν [ἐν]τὸς [τῆς πεν]-
20 ταετίας μὴ φυτεύσαι, τό τε χωρίον [με]ταπωλήσουσιν οἱ καταλαμβάν[οντες]
στρατηγοὶ ⟨κ⟩αὶ ὃν ὑπέστη τελέσει[ν φό]ρον πράξουσιν παρ’ αὐτοῦ τῆς [πενταετί]-
ας· εἰ δὲ φυτεύσει ἓν μέρος ὡς ε[ἶναι] ἄξιον τοῦ φόρου τῶν πέντε ἐτ[ῶν, τὸν μὲν]
φόρον μὴ πραττέσθω, πιπρασκέσθω [δὲ] τὸ χωρίον πολείτῃ, καὶ τὸ ἀργὸν κα[ὶ τὸ πεφυ]-
24 τευμένον, ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν μὲν τειμὴν τ[οῦ π]εφυτευμένου εἰσκομισθῆναι τῇ πόλ[ει, τὸν]
δὲ φόρον παντὸς τελεῖσθαι καθ’ ἕκαστο[ν] ἐνιαυτόν, ὅσον τελέσ[ε]ιν καὶ ὁ πρότερο[ς ὡμο]-
λόγησεν, συγχωρουμένου τῷ πρια[μέν]ῳ τοῦ φόρου τῆς πενταετίας ὑπὲρ [τοῦ ἀρ]-
γοῦ μόνου· λαμβανέτω δὲ [ὁ πολεί]της ἕκαστος μὴ πλέον πλέθρω[ν - -]·
28 εἰ μέντοι τις φωραθείη φυτεύσας τ[ού]τοις πλέον, πωλήσουσιν [οἱ στρατηγοὶ]
[τῷ βουλ]ομένῳ τῶν πολειτῶν ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ ἐκ τούτου σώζεσθαι τ[ῇ πόλει]
[- - φόρον] τοσοῦτον ὅσον τ[ελέσειν] ὡμολόγησεν ὑπὲρ ἑκάστο[υ πλέθρου· ἢν δὲ μηδεὶς]
[βούληται πρίασθαι, πράξουσ]ιν παρὰ το[ῦ πρώτου λαβό]ντος τὸν γει-
νόμε[νον φόρον,]
32 [ὅσον ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου πλέθρου τελέσειν ὑπεδέ]ξατο·
d [- - πλέ]θρον τ̣ο[ῦ –]
[- -]άμενος καὶ - -
- - ου ἐξ ὅσου τ[- -]
36 [- - π]αρὰ τῆς πόλεω[ς - -]
[- -]ίῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κα[- -]
[- - πρατ]τομένου τοῦ φόρου [- -]

[- - πολ]είτῃ δανειστῇ ὡς κα[ὶ - -]
[- - δημ]οσίου χωρίου ἡ δ[- -]
[δ]ημοσίου καθ' ἡμ[- -]
[- - α]ὐτὸς γραφέτω - -
- - ντ . . οι εκα - -
- - πόσον ἢ ὅτ - -
- - ατος ὐ - -
e [- - τ]ό τε ὄνομα [τ]ο[ῦ - -]
[- -] εἰ δέ τις ἐξαπατήσα[ς τῶν] ὀφειλόν[των ξένῳ ὑποθείη]
[τι τῶν χωρίων τῶ]ν δημοσίων καὶ τοῦτο ἐλενχθείη, ἀφαιρε[ίσθω αὐτὸν τὸ]
[χωρίον τὸ ὑποτεθὲν] ἡ πόλις, ὁ δὲ δανειστὴς ὁ ξένος ἐκ τῶν ἄλλ[ων κτημάτων]
[τῶν τοῦ ὑποθ]έντος τὴν εἴσπραξιν ποιείσθω τοῦ ὀφειλομέ[νου· εἰ δέ τις]
[διαθήκ]αις καταλίποι ξένῳ συνγενεῖ ἢ φίλῳ τούτων τι τῶν [χωρίων, ἄκυρος]
[ἔστω α]ὐτοῦ ἡ δωρεά, ἔστω δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ χωρίον· εἰ δ[έ τις μὴ καταλι-]
[πὼν δια]θήκας τελευτήσαι, ᾧ μή εἰσιν νόμιμοι κληρονόμοι, π[αρέστω]
[κατ' ἀμφ]ότερα κληρονόμος τοῦ ἑαυτῆς κτήμ[ατ]ος ἡ πόλις·
[Γε]μίνιος Μόδεστος ἀνθύπατος ΘΙΣΒ[... . τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ] τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳ χαίρειν· ἱκανὸν [μὲν οὖν - -]
[εἶναι] κύρια τὰ δόξαντα ὑμεῖν περὶ τῆς πρότε[ρον - -]
γεγενημένης, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀξιολ[ογωτάτου - -]
[- - ἐ]π' [α]ὐτῷν ἐπιχωρίου καὶ - -

2–3. suppl. Quass; χωρίον δη[μόσιον ἢ ἱερὸν - - φυ|τεῦσαι] Dittenberger. 53. (end) suppl. Tréheux; [ὑ]π[αρχέτω] Dittenberger. 55 ἀνθύπατος Θισβ[έων] Dittenberger.

This text from Thisbe has been commented on in recent scholarship from both Roman and Greek points of view[8] with the aim of studying the agrarian policy of the Roman emperors in the provinces.[9] I, for my part, wish to draw a few parallels here with other agrarian contracts from the Greek world,[10] in order to see if it is possible to draw some conclusions about the terminology used in them, particularly in relation to the issue of *emphyteusis*. Indeed, the contracts prescribed by the edict of Thisbe are often, and rightly, described as 'emphyteutic.' The word *emphyteusis* appears for the first time in Roman constitutions of the fourth century AD, where it applies to contracts in perpetuity that refer to

8 Moatti 2003, pp. 85–100.

9 Rizakis 2004, pp. 55–76.

10 These contracts are studied in detail in my forthcoming book: see Pernin 2014.

plantations.[11] But the adjective 'emphyteutic,' which never appears in the Greek documents, has sometimes been improperly used to describe other contracts in perpetuity from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Even if, as C. Moatti has noted, the transactions prescribed by the edict of Thisbe have a Roman inspiration, I shall try to show by comparison with earlier documents that contracts of *occupatio* may have existed in the Greek world as early as the Hellenistic period,[12] and that the use of the word *emphyteusis* must be confined to a precise category of documents.

Transaction

In his edict, the proconsul M. Ulpius instructs the inhabitants of Thisbe on how to manage private individuals' holding of lands owned by the city. In the document, the transaction between the city and the holder is designated by the verbs πωλήσουσιν (l. 28) and μεταπωλήσουσιν (l. 20).

The verb πωλέω, which generally means "to sell", in the present context takes on the specific meaning "to sell at an auction"; items to be "sold" in this manner can be material goods, such as a piece of real estate, or contracts for tax-collection "sold" by the city to the highest bidder. The use of the verb πωλέω (and of its compound μεταπωλέω) does not mean that the city is giving up its property rights on its lands, but only that the land tenure is being sold.[13] Similarly, the vocabulary used to describe the holder of these lands is rather vague and makes it difficult to define his legal status. He is designated by the participle ὁ λαβών (ll. 19, 27, 31),[14] literally "the taker." The same verb λαμβάνω was also used in the previous century at Delphi when a part of its territory was distributed to the citizens.[15] The use of the verbs πωλέω and λαμβάνω to refer to the transactions regulated by the edict of Thisbe suggests they are contracts (or

11 Rizakis 2004, p. 56, n. 4.

12 The idea that the clauses of the document from Thisbe are based in part on 'local traditions' is found in Ferrary and Rousset 1998, pp. 337–338.

13 Moatti 2003, p. 92 and n. 47 et 48, indicates that the same ambivalence exists for verbs *vendere* and *locare* in Latin.

14 Λαμβάνω is also the verb used once, but much earlier, in the mid-fourth century BC., in a deed of sale in the Chalkidike, where it indicates that the seller 'had received' sold properties from a previous owner: ἃ ἔλαβε παρὰ Σ[τρά]τω|νος τοῦ Ἱππίω ('that he received from Straton son of Hippios'): Game 2008, p. 32.

15 Ferrary and Rousset 1998, l. 2, 5, 7; the authors give further references in note 47.

leases) under which the city sells to individuals the right to use lots of public land. Furthermore, there are conditions, such as planting the plot, paying an annual fee, and the mention of possible heirs (l. 53),[16] that appear to indicate that the leases are for life and are transferable. Accordingly, they meet the conditions of what Roman legal sources from the fourth century AD onwards call 'emphyteutic' leases.

Although the land-tenure contract can be transmitted to an heir, ownership of the land is not alienable. If the lessee fails to comply with certain clauses of the contract, the city has the right to reclaim the land and propose a new auction. The verb μεταπωλήσουσιν, used in line 20 to designate this operation, is rather rare. To the best of my knowledge, one finds it only in the accounts of Delphi (fourth century BC)[17] and in Thessaly, in an extensive new inscription from Larissa which also reports the sale and tenure of public lands at the beginning of the third century BC.[18] Turning to literary testimonies, we find that the verb appears only in late sources: it is used by Christian authors or lexicographers, who consider it a synonym for καπηλεύειν, sometimes with the pejorative sense "to traffic". The rare epigraphic instances nevertheless seem quite clear semantically: in all three cases, public authorities must re-auction some plots because the first bidder has not complied in one way or another with the conditions of land tenure.

Among the clauses that prescribe that the city take back lands, some are meant to prevent the land from falling into foreign hands. Lines 47–50 stipulate that if a tenant mortgages his land for the benefit of a foreign creditor, the city may take back the plot and the foreign creditor must recover his dues from the other possessions of the debtor. In other words, the city invalidates the transaction and recovers the land (ll. 47–50).[19] Also, if a tenant either dies without heirs (ll. 52–54)[20] or bequeaths his plot by will to a "foreign relative or

16 Ferrary and Rousset 1998, p. 318, n. 133, indicate that the formula νόμιμοι κληρονόμοι "a le même sens qu'*heredes legitimi* dans le droit romain".

17 Bousquet, *CID* II, 67, 15; 68 col. I, 24; 70, 3; 71, 21, 67; 72, 33.

18 Quoted by Tziafalias 2003, pp. 86–87 and *SEG* LIII 543.

19 "If any of those who owe money to a foreigner mortgages a plot of public land without telling him (?), and is convicted of it, let the city confiscate the land mortgaged, and let the foreign debtor make the recovery of the due amount on the other possessions than the mortgaged ⟨land⟩".

20 "If someone dies without a will and he has no legitimate heir, let the city be at once the heir of its own estate".

friend" (ll. 50–52),[21] the land returns to the city, i.e., these rules refer, directly or indirectly, to the intestate inheritance of direct successors and to that of collateral relatives or friends foreign to the city. Apart from their lineal heirs, the purchasers of public land plots can appoint by will other heirs, provided that they are citizens of Thisbe,[22] such that the land will stay in the hands of a member of the civic community.

Now let us return to the authorities involved in the Thisbe document. In the first lines, the Roman magistrate recommends a number of provisions which are to be made by the city: the management of municipal land should be the responsibility of the magistrates (*strategoi*, l. 21; the archons and collectors of tithe,[23] l. 13), and the Council and Assembly of the Thisbeans (l. 6). Contemporary parallels are absent in Greece, but the Thisbean document seems to illuminate the relationship between the Roman authority and the city. The proconsul regulates the tenure of municipal land but relies on the authorities of the city to implement the regulations. As illustrated by F. Jacques for the western provinces in the same period,[24] the Empire probably could not afford to administer these provinces directly and relied upon existing municipal structures. In our case, the proconsul M. Ulpius may be responding to a request from the city itself, which was either not inscribed at all, or was inscribed below the second document, which was also in all probability the oldest (although it is possible that the texts were inscribed in reverse chronological order). This second document, Modestus' letter, confirms a decree passed by the inhabitants of Thisbe (κύρια τὰ δόξαντα ὑμῖν, l. 56) and refers to a request (ἀξίωμα, l. 57). The text is damaged at this point, but note that M. Ulpius speaks of lands in Thisbe which are being cultivated under his mandate (τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γεωργουμένων, l. 3) and are located "outside of" (?), or are added to (?), the city lands which are subject to the edict.[25]

21 "If someone bequeathed by will to a foreign relative or friend one of these lands, let the gift be invalidated and the field return to the city".

22 In other leases, this type of clause is more restrictive and limits the possibility of legacy to the direct heirs.

23 L.13: [- - τοῖ]ς τε ἄρχουσιν καὶ δεκατ[ευταῖς] κα[ὶ - -]: the text is mutilated here and it is impossible to specify exactly what role these magistrates played in land management at Thisbe.

24 Jacques 1984.

25 L.3: [ἐκτὸς (or χωρίς)] τῶν ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γεωργουμένων, with a restoration proposed by Quass 1996, pp. 108–115.

Nature of the Lands Sold

The lands auctioned by the city of Thisbe are most often designated in the document by the word χωρίον, which can be used both for an "estate" and a simple cultivable plot. On the other hand, later in the document one finds out that lands auctioned by the city were probably in a state of neglect: in lines 23 and 26–27, the text twice mentions τὸ ἀργόν, the wasteland, the uncultivated, neglected field—a word infrequently found in inscriptions. According to the first lines of the document, one who wants to hold a plot must create plantations (l. 2).[26] Next, lines 22 ff. refer to the case of a lessee who does not plant the purchased plot of land, or plants only a part of it. In that passage, the planted parts, τὸ πεφυτευμένον, are contrasted with the parts left uncultivated, τὸ ἀργόν.

The lessee therefore must improve the land which he has purchased from the city by planting trees. The crucial verb is φυτεύω. The tree species to be planted by the holders are not explicitly mentioned, but they would most likely be vineyards and olive trees: the edict of Thisbe would then fit the much wider Roman policy of promoting vine- and olive-growing.[27] These two crops were considered to be among the most attractive in terms of yield. Thus the prescription of tree-planting on a large part of the city's territory, to the exclusion of other crops, certainly indicates an intent to make the land profitable rather than to cultivate it merely to ensure subsistence. However, nothing in the text gives us any idea of the extent of the land affected by this activity, nor is there any way of knowing where these lands were located in the territory of Thisbe. Pausanias, writing in the second century AD, states that the plain that made up the bulk of the territory used to be flooded. In order to cultivate it, the inhabitants of Thisbe built a dyke in its middle, to retain the water on a reduced part of the territory: "So, every other year, they divert the water to the farther side of the dyke, and farm the other side."[28] The lands mentioned in the edict, since they consisted of wasteland, might have been located outside the plain. The Thisbeans might have wanted to expand their

26 ὁ βουλόμενος Θισβαίων χωρίον δη[μόσιον τῆς πόλεως λαβεῖν καὶ φυτεῦσαι], "let him who wants among the inhabitants of Thisbe, take public land and make plantations". Restoration of Quass 1996, p. 112.

27 Gehrke 1993, p. 152.

28 Paus. 9.32.3: καὶ οὕτω παρὰ ἔτος ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ χώματος ἐκτρέπουσι τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα αὐτοῦ γεωργοῦσι (translation by W.H.S. Jones, Loeb Classical Library).

arable land by colonizing, for example, the foothills of the mountains that bordered their territory to the north.[29]

The Fee

In exchange for the use of a parcel of public land, the lessee had to pay a *phoros* to the city. This *phoros*—which I translate as "fee"—had to be paid in cash. We can see that, according to the least uncertain passages of the inscription, this fee was annual (l. 17) and had to be paid on a fixed date, the 15th of the month Alalkomenaios, which corresponds to October/November in our calendar. According to lines 4 and 5, this fee was calculated by the *plethra* of leased land and thus varied according to the leased area. As is already known for this kind of contract in the Roman world, the lessee himself probably set the fee he was willing to pay. A mutilated passage suggests that the area that could be rented was limited (l. 27).[30]

The edict of Thisbe also provides a fee exemption for the first five years of the occupation (l. 16). In this way, the city of Thisbe encouraged its citizens to hold these lands by compensating for the investments required for the planting of trees. Lessees probably offered to pay a rather low fee. In order to prevent them from planting only a part of the purchased plots, or not planting at all, the city, as we saw above, reserved the right to take back the lands and auction them again. In this case (ll. 22–27),[31] the city takes back not only lands left unworked, but also cultivated lands. All the lands are put up again for auction; the new lessee pays the fee on the part planted by his predecessor and is exempted only for the part still uncultivated. We see in these very precise clauses that the city wished to generate as much income as possible from its lands while making every effort to ensure that they were not left uncultivated.

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29 I would like to thank John Fossey for pointing out to me this important passage of Pausanias.

30 "Let each citizen receive no more ? plethra".

31 "If he plants only a part, for the equivalent of the fee of the five ⟨first⟩ years, do not let him pay the fee, but the land will be resumed [?] to the citizen, fallow part as planted part, provided that the price of the planted land comes back to the city and let the fee be paid in full each year as that which the first ⟨holder⟩ had agreed to pay, provided that the buyer will be exempt from the fee of five years only on the fallow part".

Contracts of *occupatio*

Historians of Roman law have seen in this document from Thisbe an example of an *occupatio* contract,[32] designed along the same lines as the *lex Manciana* and *lex Hadriana*,[33] laws that lay out the regulations for the administration of imperial estates in Africa in the second century AD. As C. Moatti has noted, the *lex Manciana* contained "the general conditions of the perpetual lease on arable lands, which the procurators apply to uncultivated lands." This ancient law, dating from the reign of Vespasian (79–89), was complemented in the second century AD by the *lex Hadriana*, "which promoted agricultural interventions not only on uncultivated lands but also on lands that had not been cultivated for a period of ten consecutive years."[34] Among the advantages granted by these contracts, the *lex Hadriana* allowed lands to be passed on to one's heirs and provided fiscal exemptions in the first years of the contract.

Moatti notes that these 'Mancian' contracts are not "landleases but pacts of occupation" and she defines them as follows: "the right granted by the perpetual lease (*lex Manciana* and *lex Hadriana*) is close to the *ius perpetuum* … It is an actual ownership right (*usus proprius, ius in re aliena*), transmissible upon death (the estate can be mortgaged), which forces the tenant to cultivate the land continuously and to pay a rent in kind either to the financial administration (concessions made by the *lex Hadriana*) or to the *conductores* of the neighboring properties (in the case of *lex Manciana*)."[35] The process described in the edict of Thisbe is similar to the transaction defined in those inscriptions of the Roman period in North Africa.[36] According to the Roman laws, the holder must state his intention of taking a public plot of land (*petitio*): in Thisbe, this petition is to be made in writing, as shown by the mention of a βιβλίον in which the potential holder indicates which field he wishes to take, and probably its area and the amount of the fee. In North Africa, if the lessee creates plantations, he enjoys a fiscal exemption of five or ten years; in Thisbe, the holder is expected to create plantations and is exempted from the fee for five years.

One important difference in the Roman documents, however, lies in the circumstances that led to the drafting of the edicts. Indeed, while the African documents mentioned above were meant for 'Roman' properties (imperial

32 Moatti 1992, pp. 57–73.

33 *CIL* VIII 26416.

34 Moatti 2003, p. 96.

35 Moatti 2003, p. 97, with note 68 on emphyteusis.

36 See references given by Moatti 2003, p. 96, and her notes 62, 64, 65.

estates), the Thisbean decree concerns land owned by the city. The proconsul certainly encouraged the development of erstwhile public wasteland, but in such a manner that its exploitation primarily benefited the finances of the city and, indirectly, those of the Roman state through taxation.[37] It is clear that the procedure defined here has a Roman inspiration, but the edict of Thisbe has also often been compared with other Greek contracts from earlier periods in order to illustrate the idea that the 'emphyteutic' lease was "fully part of Hellenic tradition."[38] Some details about *emphyteusis* leaseholds in Greek lands are needed.

A Known Practice in the Classical and Hellenistic Greek World

We have a series of about 250 inscriptions recording agricultural leases in the ancient Greek world. Among those contracts, which can be dated from the mid-fifth century BC to the mid-second century AD, some state explicitly that they were valid in perpetuity. Most of them date to the late Classical period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period (fourth and third centuries BC).[39]

Most contracts valid in perpetuity, and those in which duration is explicitly mentioned, come from the region of Mylasa. In addition to that series, we have two fourth-century BC contracts from Attica, one of which uses the expression εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον,[40] whereas the other has the similar εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον,[41] which could be translated as "forever" or "in perpetuity". Εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

37 See the mention in line 13 of the tithe collectors.

38 Rizakis 2004, p. 59.

39 The only exception is a contract found at Olympia that dates to the last quarter of the fifth century. The document in question is exceptional for two reasons: first, it is a contract between two individuals, and, second, it is explicitly specified to last "forever", τὸν πάντα χρόνον. By and large, other private contracts were concluded for fixed periods: see Minon 2007, 25.

40 In the mid-fourth century BC, the Attic deme of Teithras put the management of its property in order, and concluded a perpetual lease for one of its properties with an individual named Xanthippos: *SEG* XXIV 151, 152 (now *SEG* LVII 131).

41 In the second half of the fourth century BC, one finds three stelae set up by deme of Prasiai and recording contracts concluded in perpetuity with individuals for estates belonging to the deme. The expression εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον is found only in *IG* II^2 2497. The other two contracts (*Hesperia* 31 (1962), pp. 54–56, and *Horos* 14–16 (2000–2003), pp. 71–76 = *SEG* LI 153) are fragmentary and their duration is lost, but references to the lessee's descendants suggest that these contracts were also concluded in perpetuity.

is also the formula used by the association of the Attic *orgeones* who rent the sanctuary of the hero Hypodectes to a certain Diopeithes.[42] At the same time, in Magna Graecia, in Lucanian Heraclea, the *horistai* who are in charge of leasing the sacred landholdings of Dionysus use the phrase κατὰ βίω "for life."[43] Yet it was in Caria, at the turn of the third century BC, that this type of contract was used almost systematically for the leasing of the extensive estates that deities from Mylasa and Olymos had recently acquired. The commissioners specially appointed to handle these transactions used an expression that is, to my knowledge, unparalleled in the Greek world outside this region: εἰς πατρικά, "as if it were inherited." Indeed, at Mylasa as in Attica and Heraclea, real estate leased in perpetuity was transmitted by inheritance, and all such contracts were careful to mention not only the lessee with whom they were concluded, but also his heirs who would be his successors as lessees unless the contract were broken. One also finds in all such contracts a certain homogeneity of vocabulary. Lessees are always designated by compounds of μισθοῦν, "to lease": μεμίσθωνται,[44] μισθωσάμενος,[45] μεμισθωμένος;[46] the rent is designated by the words μίσθωσις in Attica and μίσθωμα at Heraclea. The Carian documents, however, use φόρος to refer to the rent paid by lessees. Although often qualified as 'emphyteutic,' these contracts do not include any prescription to create plantations,[47] except for the contracts relating to the lands of Dionysus at Heraclea: there, the lessees are explicitly instructed to plant 'bare' plots with vineyards and olive trees.[48]

In addition to these contracts, in which the duration is explicitly specified as unlimited, we have two documents that do not mention the duration of the contract between the lessee and lessor, and whose nature is more elusive. These are not contracts per se, but rather more general regulations related to public lands, similar to the edict of Thisbe. During the second century BC, the city of Thestia in Aitolia inscribed regulations governing the exploitation of public properties that included several houses as well as a rural estate consisting of a house and a field.[49] The top of the base on which the document was inscribed

42 *IG* II^2 2501.

43 *IG* XIV 645.

44 Teithras, *SEG* XXIV 151, l. 4.

45 Heraclea, *IG* XIV 645, I, l. 100.

46 *I.Mylasa* I 208, l. 5.

47 See Guiraud 1893, p. 426. On emphyteusis, see further Beauchet 1897, p. 199; Kamps 1938, p. 83.

48 Heraclea, *IG* XIV 645, I.

49 Klaffenbach 1936, pp. 380–385.

is broken, and the beginning of the contract is missing. But we understand that the first preserved clause concerns construction and planting to be done by the holder and his possible descendants.[50] In the absence of other indications in the text, the mention of the descendants implies that the contract was to be perpetual and transmissible to the heirs directly. This clause is more restrictive than those in the edict of Thisbe, which authorize the transmission of the plot to any heir (blood relatives, collateral or friend), provided that he is a citizen of Thisbe.[51] Neglect of certain clauses, perhaps those concerning construction and planting, constitutes a breach of the contract, and here, as in Thisbe, the house and the field return to the city (ll. 3–5). As in the Thisbean contracts, the holder must pay to the treasurers of the city (ll. 7–8) a fee called *phoros* (ll. 5–6), as is also the case in Mylasa at about the same time. The amount of the fee, one drachma per year, is so low that we could describe it as symbolic.

The regulation of Gazôros (158/9 AD) in Macedonia,[52] though nearer in time, offers only a few points of comparison with the edict of Thisbe. A community, the identity of which remains unknown, regulates the exploitation of public lands (τοὺς δημοσίους τόπους, l. 11) by private individuals. The authors of the regulation hope to see these plots (which have already been encroached upon, l. 17), planted and their value raised accordingly. The community is acting in its best interests by encouraging the exploitation of its lands, either by those who had already begun planting (τοὺς ἐνφυτεύσαντας, l. 17) or by those who had intended to (ll. 17–18), and by sharing in the benefits of the harvest with the holders. The Macedonian document is not a contract defining lease conditions (duration, amount of rent, term, etc). The text only states, without great precision, the nature of the desired plantations and indicates that the crops will be partially shared between the city and the holders.

Finally, although those documents appear substantially different, they share a feature that clearly distinguishes them from the contracts explicitly con-

50 λευκίδαι ι ι [... . .^{ca} 10 ... . . τὸ ἥμι]|συ ὥστε ἐνοικοδομ[ῆσαι καὶ φυτεῦ]|σαι αὐτοῖ καὶ ἐκγόνοις [αὐτοῦ· εἰ] δέ τις τούτων μή ἐστιν, ἔστω [τᾶς] | πόλιος καὶ ἁ οἰκία καὶ τὸ χωρίον· φ[ό]|ρων δὲ ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ δρα|χμάν· ἁ ⟨δ⟩ὲ πρᾶξις ἔστω τοῖ ταμ[ί]|αι, καθὼς καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλαύρων | ἁ⟨ι⟩ συνγραφὰ περιέχει· παρεχέτω|σαν δὲ ἀνεπικώλυτον τὰν κρά|ναν. "[- - -] half so as to build and make plantations for him and his descendants; if a ⟨holder⟩ has no descendants, the house and the field should be returned to the city; ⟨amount⟩ of fees, every year, one drachma; let the treasurer carry out the exaction, as the contract indicates also for *dialaura*; let ⟨the holders⟩ leave free ⟨the access⟩ to the fountain".

51 Compare the provisions provided by the donation of land to Delphi, Ferrary and Rousset 1998, l. 8 and pp. 316–317.

52 *SEG* XXIV 614.

tracted in perpetuity: just as in the case of Thisbe, they require from the holder either building work and planting (as at Thestia) or merely planting (as at Gazôros). Such regulations seem designed to restore order in the management of public lands and to increase the city's income by the development of land that had hitherto remained more or less neglected. This situation is similar to the one that led the inhabitants of Thisbe to exploit part of their city's land. And it seems to me that only these regulations, unlike leases in perpetuity, can be called 'emphyteutic.'

Before the term 'emphyteutic' appears explicitly in the Roman constitutions of Constantine in the early fourth century AD, the description of such conditions for the exploitation of public lands can be found in a literary composition: a speech by the Greek rhetorician Dio of Prusa entitled *The Euboean*. The speech is thought to be a diatribe, perhaps delivered in front of a large crowd, probably quite late in the life of the orator (early second century AD), who presents himself as an old man.[53] The philosopher creates the following imaginary scenario: a hunter who has visited the town only once before describes not only its splendor but also its disorder and misery.[54] Dio describes urban spaces like the agora and the gymnasium as overgrown with weeds and grazed by livestock. He proposes to demarcate these urban spaces anew by allowing those who have encroached upon them to find agricultural land outside the city. He suggests that private individuals be enabled to exploit public wastelands through a ten year exemption from fees for citizens and a five year exemption for foreigners, with the possibility for the latter to become citizens. The measures devised by Dio have often been compared to the agricultural development program put forth by the Roman emperors of the same period, especially in the *lex Hadriana* in North Africa. Dio is thought to be describing precisely what Constantine's constitutions would call 'emphyteutic' contracts two centuries later. I think, however, that Dio refers not to the imperial exploitation programs concerning the *ager publicus*, but rather to the situation of contemporary cities, perhaps specifically those of Greece and his native Asia Minor. About a century later, at Thisbe, the proconsul called for a solution similar to that imagined by Dio. Likewise, the regulations of Thestia and Gazôros suggest that this type of regulation had already been applied by public authorities in the Greek world. Dio was probably inspired by the *realia* of his time.[55]

53 Gangloff 2006, p. 49.

54 Bertrand 1992, pp. 85–92.

55 Methy 1994, pp. 182–183. Desideri 1999, pp. 93–107.

In conclusion, study of the vocabulary and terms of the contracts offered by M. Ulpius to the city of Thisbe for the exploitation of its public estates shows that the Thisbean document fits among a small number of regulations concerning the development and 'occupation' of public lands in Greek areas. Greek citizens or foreigners can sometimes exploit previously abandoned land on the condition that they plant it and pay a fee, from which they may be exempted in the first years of the contract. The land can be transmitted by inheritance, except if the rules are infringed, in which case control returns to the city. Although the term is never applied to them, these contracts appear to have been the predecessors of *emphyteusis* contracts, designated as such in the constitutions of Constantine in the early fourth century AD, then in the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian (of the fifth and early sixth centuries, respectively).[56]

These *occupatio* contracts differ from leases of the Classical and Hellenistic periods which are explicitly contracted in perpetuity, since the latter, with some exceptions in Magna Graecia, do not include planting and do not provide exemption from rents in the early years of the lease. If one considers that the 'emphyteutic' lease is defined by a contract in perpetuity, the obligation to create plantations, and the exemption of the fee in the first years of the lease, the term will be reserved for the contracts prescribed by the regulations of Thestia and Thisbe (the case of Gazôros being less clear).

Beyond issues of legal terminology is the question of what circumstances encouraged the use of 'emphyteutic' leasehold contracts. The case of Thisbe is particularly interesting and worthy of further investigation, beyond the limits of the present study. At Thisbe, the proconsul requires 'emphyteutic' land tenure from the city in order to exploit its public lands: the edict of M. Ulpius precisely illustrates the relationship that the Roman authorities maintained with cities, especially in the area of agrarian policy. We learn that the proconsul intervened in the management of part of the city's lands, but only to give instructions; the magistrates and assemblies of the city retained direct administration of the plots. Nonetheless, this document proves that the Romans were concerned with the development of land in all sectors of public property, and particularly in the case of neglect. In Thisbe, however, the Roman authorities seem to have been unable to exploit the land directly and relied upon local institutions and local modalities of land development.

A final question remains. The text of the edict, addressed to a Greek community, was written in Greek, but one wonders whether it is based on, and

56 *Cod. Iust.* XI, 62 (61), 1; 63 (62), 1; *Cod. Theod.* XV, 3, 1 = *Cod. Iust.* XI, 65 (64), 1; *Cod. Theod.* IV, 12, 3; XI, 16, 2; II, 25, 2.

therefore reflects, an earlier legal text published in Latin. In other words, to what extent is the edict of Thisbe representative of a transfer of administrative and legal practices from one world to the other? This question should remain open for the time being.

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